



Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia, Being the Second Part of "Shamanstvo"

Author(s): V. M. Mikhailovskii and Oliver Wardrop

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 24 (1895), pp. 62-100

Published by: [Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2842483)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2842483>

Accessed: 21/02/2013 02:17

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

named in "Nature" the Wallace formula, and was in hopes it would thereby attract greater attention.

Wallace observed that in many Australian languages the words for mouth and lips are *Labials*, for teeth are *Dentals*, and for the nose are *Nasals*.

Now this is so far true, and very true, that it goes further and applies to hundreds of languages, and what is to be noted, even to us in English, so that it is very easy to remember the law.

Mr. Aston and his fellow inquirers have to deal with this fact, and to account for the origin of speech language on this basis. It also accords with the phenomena of gesture language, and of primitive symbology. Still further it accords with the evidence of characters.

If anyone will take the ancient Chinese characters where they are round, the Shwo-wren for example, he will, as I have pointed out, find much evidence. He will find rounds for round objects and labial sounds. In other ancient characters he will find classed together mouth, eye, ear, sun (day eye), moon (night eye), egg, &c. Objects periodically or casually opening and shutting are assimilated.

How this was worked out and connected with the organs has been sufficiently shown by me in "Nature," and since then the results obtained in a wide field of observation have brought further confirmation.

Mr. Aston is quite right in treating onomatopœia as later and subsidiary and not primary.

Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia, being the second part of "**Shamanstvo**," by Professor V. M. MIKHAILOVSKII, of Moscow, Vice-President of the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography.¹ Translated by OLIVER WARDROP (Part I).

Shamanism in Russia at the present day.—Hitherto the word *shamanism* has been used in a narrow and strictly defined sense, geographically and ethnographically. The term has been applied especially to certain phenomena in the life and philosophy of our foreign fellow-subjects, in particular the inhabitants of Siberia, and therefore, when we enter upon a wider consideration of the question, and consider shamanism as a phenomenon characteristic of many peoples, scattered throughout many parts of the world, we must begin by examining it in the region where it was first observed and studied, *i.e.*, among the Asiatic and European tribes of Russia. Since it is our intention to regard this phenomenon from the point of view of universal ethnography, we shall not give an exhaustive account of all the facts collected by Russian enquirers, but shall limit our investigations to those data sufficient

¹ Professor Mikhailovskii's essay forms the twelfth Vol. of the Proceedings of the Ethnographical Section, and was published in 1892.

to furnish materials for a characterisation of shamanism in Russia in order to compare it with similar institutions in other lands.

Shamanism among the Siberian peoples is at the present time in a moribund condition; it must die out with those beliefs among which alone such phenomena can arise and flourish. Buddhism on the one hand, and Mohammedanism on the other, not to mention Christianity, are rapidly destroying the old ideas of the tribes among whom the shamans performed. Especially has the more ancient Black Faith suffered from the Yellow Faith preached by the lamas. But the shamans, with their dark mysterious rites, have made a good struggle for life, and are still frequently found among the native Christians and Mohammedans. The mullahs and lamas have even been obliged to become shamans to a great extent. Many Siberian tribes who are nominally Christians believe in the shamans, and have recourse to them. The Yakuts, for instance, when called upon by the government to give information about their customary law, in the third decade of the present century, insisted on excluding shamanism from the question of any particular profession of religion. They said, "Shamanism is not the faith or religion of the Yakuts, but an independent set of actions which take place in certain definite cases." And they endeavour to explain and justify the attachment of Christian Yakuts to their shamans.¹

The names applied to Shamans by the various Siberian tribes.—Shamans, though of a degenerate type, are to be met with throughout the whole of Siberia, and they are known by various names. The word *shaman* is only found among the Tunguses, Buryats, and Yakuts.² It is only among the Tunguses that this is the native name; the Buryats, like the Mongols, also call their shamans *bö*, and the female shamans *ödögön* or *utygan*.³ Among the Yakuts, a shaman is called *oyun*, a female shaman *udagan*.⁴ The Altaians use the term *Kam*, and call the shaman's dealings with spirits *kamlanie*, i.e., *kam-ing*. The Samoyeds called their shamans *tadibei*.⁵ Despite the different names, the performances of the shamans are the same among all these peoples, though all acknowledge that the modern shamans are less powerful than the ancient.

The first Shamans and their origin.—There are some curious tales about the first shamans and the origin of shamanism. Mr. Shashkov has copied down among the Buryats of Balagan a long legend about the cause of the deterioration of the shamans. The first shaman, Khara-Gyrgen, had unlimited power, and God, desiring to prove him, took the soul of a certain rich maiden, and she fell ill. The shaman flew through the sky on his tambourine, seeking the soul, and saw it in a bottle on God's table. To keep the soul from flying out, God corked up the bottle with one of the

¹ Samokvasov: "Sbornik obychnago prava sibirskikh inorodtsev," 218–219.

² Shashkov, 80.

³ Agapitov and Khangalov, 41. Potanin, iv, 61.

⁴ Pripuzov, 64.

⁵ Radloff: "Aus Sibirien," ii, 16.

fingers of his right hand. The cunning shaman changed himself into a yellow spider, and bit God on the right cheek, so that, irritated by the pain, he clapped his right hand to his face, and let the soul out of the bottle. Enraged at this, God limited Khara-Gyrgen's power, and thenceforth shamans have been getting worse and worse.¹ The legend which we summarize is interesting for the glimpse it gives of the coarse ideas of an earlier period, underlying the modern mask of monotheism. The god referred to is but one of the spirits of the animistic epoch. The Buryats also have the following story about the appearance of shamans among men:—In the beginning there were only the good spirits (*tengri*) of the west, and the evil spirits of the east. The western *tengris* created men, who were at first happy, but afterwards, through the wickedness of the evil spirits, they began to fall sick and die. Then the good *tengris* decided to give a shaman to mankind, to aid in the struggle with the evil spirits, so they made the eagle a shaman. Men did not put faith in a mere bird, and, besides, they did not understand its language; the eagle therefore prayed the western *tengris* either to allow the post of shaman to be given to a Buryat, or to bestow human speech upon the eagle. By the will of the good spirits, the first shaman became the offspring of the eagle and a Buryat woman.² The Yakut tradition is that the first shaman was of extraordinary strength, and would not acknowledge the chief god of the Yakuts, for which reason the wrathful deity burned him up. All the body of this shaman consisted of crawling reptiles. One frog escaped from the fire, and from it issued the shaman demons, who still supply the Yakuts with famous shamans, male and female.³ The Tunguses of the Turukhan region, though the miraculous element is not wanting in their story, have a less fantastic account of the first shaman. According to their version, the first shaman was formed in consequence of his particular fitness for this occupation, and by the aid of the devil. This shaman flew up the chimney of the *yrta* (hut) and came back accompanied by swans.⁴ The stories about ancient shamans, and the supernatural appearance of persons destined to enter into immediate intercourse with spirits and gods, arose, on the one hand, from the desire of the shamans to give a special sanction to their proceedings; on the other hand, they are due to the peculiar character of their doings, which produced an exceedingly powerful impression on the minds and imaginations of uncivilised people.

Forms of "kamlanie" and exorcism among the Tunguses.—Among the various performances of the shamans, the most characteristic of all is that which is now generally called *kamlanie*. The presence of a shaman at a festival, as priest and sacrificer, is but of secondary importance, and is not of the essence of shamanism. Scenes of *kam-ing* among the various foreign peoples in Russia have been

¹ Shashkov, 81.

² Agapitov and Khangalov, 41–42.

³ Pripuzov, 64.

⁴ Tretyakov: "Turukhanskii krai," 210–211.

described in detail by ancient and modern travellers, especially Gmelin and Pallas. In Argunsk, Gmelin saw the juggling, as he calls it, of a certain Tungus shaman. The *kamlanie* took place at night, in the open air, by a fire. The spectators sat round the fire; the shaman stripped, and then put on his shaman costume of leather, hung with pieces of iron; on each of his shoulders was a toothed iron horn. But this particular shaman had as yet received no tambourine from the demons, of which there are a vast number; each shaman has its own demons, and he that has most is considered the cleverest. The *kamlanie* consisted of running round in the circle, and singing, in which he was supported by two assistants. Another Tungus shaman, seen by Gmelin, had a tambourine; he made a speech in a drawling chant, and the Tunguses present chimed in. The language of the shaman's utterances was unknown; he then cried out in the voices of various animals, and drove back spirits. The spirits did not say anything to him, but tormented him a great deal.¹

Among the Yakuts.—The description of *kamlanie* by a Yakut *oyun* is especially remarkable; this *oyun* seems to have made a great impression on Gmelin. The ceremony took place in a birch-bark *yurta*, in front of which a fire was burning. When it was dark, a shaman, with long black hair, undressed in the *yurta*, and put on a coat hung with iron; he left on his breeches, but changed his stockings for others which were embroidered, and are only worn by shamans during the *kamlanie*. He took his tambourine, sat down with his face to the south-west, and began to beat the tambourine and cry out. The spectators did not join in chorus. He sat thus for a while, grimacing, shouting, and beating the tambourine. Gmelin's companions told him that the man was summoning the spirits. Suddenly the shaman leaped to his feet, the beating on the tambourine became faster, the shouts louder, his black hair was flying while he rushed about the *yurta*. At last the shaman was overcome, and fell fainting. Then two chiefs seized him, for if the exorcist falls on the ground while he is delirious, misfortunes will happen to the whole people. Afterwards, while a third chief was holding over his head a flint, and sharpening a knife on it, the shaman looked round for a moment, and again became delirious; whilst in this state, he often stopped, fixedly looked upwards, and grasped at the air with his hand. Then followed his prophecies, and when all was over, and the shaman had doffed his dress, he declared that he remembered nothing.² Klark describes the *kamlanie* of a Yakut shaman in terse but impressive language, and declares that the sound of the tambourine, the convulsive antics of the shaman, his fierce screams, his wild stare in the dim light, all strike terror into the hearts of semi-savage people, and powerfully affect their nerves.³

¹ Gmelin, ii, 44–46, 193–195.

² Gmelin, ii, 351–356.

³ Klark: "Vilyuisk i ego okrug. Zapiski Sibirskago otdyela," 1864, kn. vii, 139.

In the "Syevernyi Arkhiv" for 1822, there is a description of the healing of a sick person by a Yakut shaman. There we find him playing another part; that of the leech, driving away evil spirits which possess the sick and cause illness. His performance consisted of two parts; first of all he did not put on his dress, but took a piece of tinder in his hand, twisted into tufts some hairs from a horse's mane, then embraced the patient, and thus took into himself the demons that caused the illness, found out what village they came from, and designated a sacrifice. When the animal destined for sacrifice was brought, the second part of the ceremony began; the shaman put on his professional costume, went up to the beast, and conveyed into it the demon that had entered him from the sick man. This process had a terrifying effect upon the animal; it seemed to be paralyzed. After the beast was killed, the head and flesh were eaten, and the skin and bones were hung on a tree.¹

Among the Samoyeds of Tomsk.—In Western Siberia also, among the Tomsk Samoyeds, the shaman alone has access to the dark world of spirits; according to Castren, he performs his functions in a place specially prepared. He sits down in the middle of the room, on a bench or trunk, in which there must be nothing of a dangerous nature, neither knife, nor bullet, nor needle; behind the shaman, and beside him, are ranged the numerous spectators; but nobody must sit in front of him. The shaman's face is turned to the door, and he affects to see and hear nothing. In his right hand he holds a stick, smooth on one side, and on the other, covered with mysterious signs and figures; in his left hand are two arrows with the points upwards; on the point of each a little bell is fixed. The raiment of the conjurer has no distinctive character; he generally dons the clothes of the enquirer or patient. The *kamlanie* begins with a song, summoning the spirits, and during this the shaman beats with the stick on the arrows, and the bells ring out the measure, while the audience sit devoutly silent. As soon as the spirits begin to appear, the shaman stands up and begins to dance, accompanying the dance with very difficult and ingenious movements of the body. Meanwhile the song and the sound of the bells go on without pause. The subject of the song is a conversation with the spirits, and it is sung with varying degrees of excitement. When the singing has become exceptionally enthusiastic, the spectators also join in it. After the shaman has learned from the spirits all he wants to know, he declares the will of the gods. When he is consulted about the future, he divines by means of the stick, which he throws down; if the side marked with signs is downwards, this foretells misfortune, if it is uppermost, good fortune. To convince their fellows of the reality of their intercourse with spirits, the shamans have recourse to the following plan: the ghost-seer sits down in the middle of a dry reindeer skin which is stretched on the floor, and has his hands and feet tied; then the shutters are closed and the shaman summons the

¹ "Syevernyi Arkhiv," 1822, 274-277.

spirits subject to him. In the various corners of the dark *yurta*, and even outside, different voices are heard, there is a sound of scratching and drumming in time on the dry skin, bears growl, snakes hiss, squirrels jump. When the noise ceases, the unbound shaman goes out of the *yurta*, and the audience are convinced that the whole performance has been the work of spirits. Farther to the north, the Samoyed shamans, to prove their mysterious power, ask to be shot in the head.¹

Among the Ostyaks.—As early as the days of Peter the Great, Novitskii, in his description of the Ostyaks, near akin to the Samoyeds, portrayed picturesquely the manner in which an Ostyak shaman conjured. When the natives wish to make enquiries about matters affecting their daily wants, fishing, hunting, or the like, they lead the wonder-worker into a dark hut, and there bind him firmly; they themselves sit down and play on reed pipes; the captive shouts out necromantic words, invoking his ally, Satan. The performance always takes place by night, and, after some hours of invocation, a stormy and noisy spirit enters the hut. Then the spectators flee, and leave the wizard alone with the spirit. The spirit takes him, raises him up and lets him down again, and torments him in all kinds of ways. Some hours later, the demon makes his revelation to the shaman, and then leaves him; the shaman communicates the message to the enquirers.² Tretyakov has given the substance of some of the sacred songs of the shamans among the Ostyaks and Yurak-Samoyeds. An Ostyak shaman sings that he is raising himself to heaven by means of a rope let down to him; he pushes aside the stars that block his way. In the sky, the shaman floats in a boat, and then sails down a stream to the earth, with such rapidity that the air blows through him. Afterwards, with the aid of winged devils, he descends below the earth, and asks the dark spirit "Ama," or the shaman's mother, for a cloak. (At this moment the bystanders throw a cloak over his shoulders.) Finally the shaman informs each of those who are present that his happiness is secured, and tells the patient that the devil is cast out. Among the Tazovsky Ostyaks and Yuraks, the shaman sings of his journeyings, and tells how he flies amid blossoming wild roses, and rises to the sky, where he sees on the *tundra* seven larches; there his grandsire formerly made his tambourine. Then the shaman enters an iron hut and falls asleep, surrounded by purple clouds. He comes down to earth on a river, and then adoring the heavenly deity the sun, the moon, the trees, the beast of earth—the ruler of the world, he prays for long life, happiness, &c.³

Among the Chukchis and Koryaks.—Passing to the extreme side of Siberia, on the Pacific coast, we find, among the tribes there, similar phenomena. Among the Chukchis, according to Litke, the

¹ Castren : "Reiseberichte und Briefe," 1845–1849, 172–174.

² "Kratkoe opisaniye o narode ostyatskom," Grigoriya Novitskago, 1715g. Izd. L. Maikov, 1884, 48–49.

³ Tretyakov, 217–218.

shaman, in his *kamlanie*, began by retiring behind a curtain, then were heard groans, and gentle tappings, with a thin whalebone, on the tambourine; opening the curtain, he was seen swaying from side to side, the shouts and drumming became louder, he threw off his coat, and stripped himself to the waist. The performance concluded with jugglery. First of all, the shaman took a smooth stone, gave it to Litke to hold, then took it between his hands, rubbed one palm on the other, and the stone disappeared; it was found in a swelling near the elbow, and was cut out. The last trick of the shaman, before retreating behind the curtain, was to cut his tongue with a knife until blood flowed.¹ The Koryak shamans, according to Krasheninnikov, had no special dress, and were only remarkable as healers of the sick and performers of tricks, e.g., they thrust a knife into the stomach. In healing diseases they designated the kind of animal which ought to be sacrificed. In their *kamlanie* the tambourine played an important part.²

Among the Kamchadals.—Among the Kamchadals there were no special shamans, but their place was taken by women; these were chiefly old, and they cured diseases by whispered charms. Their chief form of shamanism consisted of two old women sitting in the corner and ceaselessly whispering. One of them tied round her leg a garland of nettles ornamented with red wool, and shook her leg about. If the leg rose easily this was a good omen, but if it rose with difficulty misfortune would happen. But the *kamlanie* did not terminate with this. The female shaman summoned the devils with the words, “gut! gut!” and gnashed her teeth, and when the devils appeared she met them with laughter and cries of “hoi! hoi!” Half an hour afterwards the devils departed, and when this happened the witch cried “ishki,” i.e., no. Her assistants were all the time whispering and telling her not to be afraid, and to notice everything and not forget the response. Some, adds Krasheninnikov, say that in time of thunder and lightning the *biilyukai*, spirit, comes to the women shamans and enables them to give responses.³ Although Krasheninnikov, in his account of shamanism among the Kamchadals, declares that this tribe consider all women, especially old ones, capable of *kamlanie*, yet from the facts he gives we arrive at the conclusion that it is only certain women, exceptionally gifted, who can call up spirits, and become united with them.

Among the Gilyaks.—The Gilyaks carefully conceal all information about their shamans, and it is therefore very interesting to find that a merchant named Ivanov has given a detailed account of them, published in the “Sibirskii Vvestnik” for 1866. Mr. Ivanov lived on the Amur river from 1855, managed a Gilyak school, and had close relations with the Gilyaks of the Amur and of Sakhalin Island. A shaman, out of friendship, allowed him to be present at

¹ Erman: “Archiv,” 1843, 459.

² Krasheninnikov, ii, 158–159.

³ Krasheninnikov, ii, 81–82.

a *kamlanie*. At ten o'clock Mr. Ivanov reached the *ymrta*. "As soon as I entered," says he, "he began to put on his shaman costume, hung with heavy iron rattles, took in his hand a tambourine covered with fish skin, and beat upon it with a hair-brush. On his head he had long wood shavings, and to the sound of the tambourine he began dancing about the *ymrta*, and shouting in a wild voice, endeavouring to show the spectators that he possessed that inspiration which is the mark of his profession. Among his various gymnastic feats and tricks, he took in his right hand a knife and in his left hand an axe, and going over to the door, where there was no light, placed the knife against his stomach and struck with the axe on the handle of the knife until the blade of the knife had penetrated his entrails, then turning to the spectators he showed them that the blade had entered his stomach. All the bystanders went up to him to see; one of them took hold of the handle and pulled it away from the blade; the latter, according to the shaman, was left in his stomach, and thence he afterwards produced it." Mr. Ivanov afterwards detected the shaman's trick, and exposed him.¹

Among the Mongols.—Shamanism was especially developed near Baikal Lake and in the Altai Mountains. In these classic lands of the Black Faith, capable enquirers like Yadrintsev, Potanin, and Radloff have laboured. There, in the south of Siberia, we find not only examples of the productions of the shamanist mind excited by an inflamed imagination, but whole mystery plays in which the conjurers up of spirits are the actors, plays distinguished by a strong dramatic element. Among the ancient Mongols, as early as the time of Chingis Khan and his immediate successors, the shamans were at the height of their power; they were priests, leeches, and prophets. As priests they need not occupy us at present. For healing purposes, the ancient Mongol shamans employed the methods which are still used in Siberia. When the exorcist of the spirits guilty of causing the illness could not fall into a state of delirium, the spectators tried to excite him by clapping of hands, shouts and songs; this custom is called *togolka* by the Mongols. As soothsayers, they either foretold the future, or divined according to the flight of arrows, or by the shoulder-blade; they burned the shoulder-blade of a sheep, and made responses to enquirers according to the cracks caused by the fire.²

Among the Buryats.—Among the Alarsk Buryats, the shaman, when called in to heal a sick person, makes a diagnosis, *i.e.*, he enquires into the cause of the illness, and decides what has happened to the patient's soul, whether it has lost itself, or has been stolen away and is languishing in the prison of the gloomy Erlik, ruler of the underground world. A preliminary *kamlanie* decides this question. If the soul is near at hand, the shaman, by methods known to him alone, replaces it in the body, if the soul is far away, he seeks it in every part of the world; in the deep woods, on the

¹ "Sibirskii Vyestnik," 1866, No. 18.

² Banzarov, 114-115.

steppes, at the bottom of the sea, and when he has found it, restores it to the body. The soul frequently escapes from its pursuer ; it runs to a place where sheep have walked, so that the shaman cannot discover its traces, which are mixed with the footprints of the sheep, or it flees to the south-western spirits, where it is safe from the wiles of the shaman. If the soul is not to be found anywhere within the limits of our world, the shaman must seek it in the realm of Erlik, and perform the toilsome and expensive journey to the underground world, where heavy sacrifices have to be made, at the cost of the patient. Sometimes the shaman informs the patient that Erlik demands another soul in exchange for his, and asks who is his nearest friend. If the sick Buryat is not of a magnanimous disposition, the shaman, with his consent, ensnares the soul of his friend when the latter is asleep. The soul turns into a lark ; the shaman in his *kamlanie* takes the form of a hawk, catches the soul, and hands it over to Erlik, who frees the soul of the sick man. The friend of the Buryat, who recovers, falls ill and dies. But Erlik has only given a certain respite ; the patient's life is prolonged for three, seven, or nine years.¹ The famous Berlin ethnographer Bastian describes the *kamlanie* of a Buryat shaman, at which he was present. An old shaman, in the company of three of his pupils, who assisted him, by night, in a *yurta* half lighted up by a fire, flung himself about, stamping wildly, and, while performing his dance round, summoned the spirits in a monotonous chant with a rhythmic cadence. When the shaman reached his pupils they fell down prostrate before him, and he touched their heads with two wands which he waved during his performance. Bastian's guide asked a question about a box that had been lost on the road. One of the pupils carefully laid a shovel on the coals, and filled it with thin splinters of wood, keeping up the fire so that the whole surface of the shovel would be on fire at the same time ; then he reverently carried over the shovel full of flaming chips to his master, who spat on it several times and eagerly noticed the crackling of the burning wood, at the same time groaning and twitching convulsively. Unfortunately the response was indefinite and obscure.² Mr. Pozdnyeev gives, among his specimens of the popular literature of the Mongol tribes, an interesting wizard song of a Buryat shaman. It was sung, apparently, before a Buryat set out for the chase, and reminds him of his duties towards the Russian Government.

“Tree of the western rock
Spread in thy youth,
Taking a blue colour,
Bloom with blue blossoms.”

“Father heaven, O take !
Thou must make a ramrod,
Thou must kill the roebuck's mate,
Thou must pay tribute to the Tsar,
Thou must do carting for the Kazaks.”

¹ Potanin, iv, 86-87.

² Bastian : “Geographische und ethnologische Bilder,” i, 404-406.

"Tree of the southern rock
Spread out from thy root;
Taking a blue colour,
Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!" &c.

"Tree of the northern rock
Spread out from thy branches,
Taking a blue colour
Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!" &c.¹

Mr. Pozdnyeev has copied from Castren's Buryat grammar another specimen of a shamanist prayer. It differs from the foregoing in that it was uttered at public worship (*kerek*) and was not called forth by a private accidental demand. It begins by referring to various gods giving authority to the shaman's invocation. Then it goes on as follows:

"At this was present (here the name of a spirit invoked is given).

? "At the invocation *bylp* (a certain spirit).

"We invoke long life,
We invoke long prosperity,
We invoke a skin a *chetvert* thick,
We invoke life strong as iron,
We invoke the effectiveness of sacrifice,
Entrance into a happy fate,
We invoke the driving away of infection,
The healing of sickness,
We invoke wealth in flocks,
We invoke a numerous progeny."

"Make ready at once!"²

Among the Altaians.—In various corners of the Altai Mountains, among the Turkish tribes, Teleuts, Altaians and Chernev Tatars, the *kams*, or shamans, tenaciously preserve all the traditions and ceremonies connected with their calling. Mr. Potanin was fortunate enough to observe several cases of *kamlanie*. A very curious instance was that of a young shaman named Enchu, who lived in an *aul* on the river Talda, six versts from Angudai. His *kamlanie* consisted of four parts: 1. Before the fire, sitting with the face towards it; 2. Standing with the back to the fire; 3. A pause, during which the *kam*, leaning on the side of his tambourine, narrated all that the spirits had said or done; 4. Finally, he *kam'd* with his back to the fire, in front of the place where the tambourine always hangs, and undressed himself. Enchu said he did not remember what had happened to him while he was dancing with his back to the fire. At that time he madly twisted his body without moving his feet; he squatted down, writhed and straightened himself out again, as if imitating the movements of a snake. Owing to the rapid movement of the upper part of his body, the twisted handkerchiefs sewed on his dress spread out and whirled in the air, forming exquisite wavelike lines. Meanwhile he beat the tambourine in various ways,

¹ Pozdnyeev, i, 289.

² Pozdnyeev, i, 280.

and produced the most varied sounds. Sometimes Enchu held the tambourine upside down, holding it horizontally, and struck it violently from underneath. Potanin's Angudai guides explained that the shaman was collecting spirits in the tambourine. When the *kam* sat with his back to the fire he was much quieter; sometimes he interrupted his beating of the tambourine, conversed with somebody, laughed, thus indicating that he was in the company of the spirits. At one time Enchu sang slowly and pleasantly, while producing on the tambourine sounds similar to the trampling of horses' feet; the spectators explained that the shaman was riding with his guards.

On the Elegesha, Potanin was present at the *kamlanie* of an old female shaman in the *aul* of Uryankhai. The *yurt* (or hut) was very close. The *shamanka's* husband helped in the preliminary part of the ceremony: he gave her dress to her, dried the tambourine before the fire, threw juniper branches into the fire, &c. The distinctive features of this performance, as compared with Enchu's, were delirium and spasms; throwing away her tambourine, she began to drag herself towards those who were sitting in the *yurt* , showing her teeth, and stretching out her fingers to make them look like the claws of a beast; then she fell with a crash on the ground, and her head almost struck the hearthstone. As she lay on the floor she twisted herself about, and tried to gnaw with her teeth the hot stones around the hearth. Her husband held up her head, and muttered: "Stinkard!" According to the Altaians, the procedure varies among the different *kams*.¹

A shaman's journey to Erlik's realm.—But Erlik, the malicious ruler of the underground realm, always plays an important part, and Mr. Potanin has written down, from Father Chivalkov's account, a story giving a full and dramatic description of a *kam's* journey to Erlik's abode. The shaman begins his travels from the place where he is performing. He describes his entry. The road runs southward. The *kam* passes through the neighbouring districts, climbs over the Altai, and describes, in passing, the Chinese land with its red sand; then he rides over a yellow steppe across which a magpie cannot fly. "With songs we shall traverse it!" cries the *kam* to his followers, and drawls out a song; the young braves mount with him, and accompany him in song. After the yellow steppe comes a wan-coloured steppe, over which no raven has ever flown, and the *kam* again incites his followers to make merry with song. Beyond these two weary steppes is the iron mountain, Temir Shaikha, whose summit reaches heaven; the *kam* tells his followers that concord is necessary for this dangerous ascent. Then the *kam* describes the difficult ascent of the mountain, pretends to climb, and when the top is reached breathes heavily. On the mountain he sees the bones of *kams* who have failed to reach the summit for want of power. "On the mountains men's bones lie heaped up in rows; the mountains are piebald with the bones of horses." Then, leaving the mountains behind, he rides up to a hole which leads

¹ Potanin, iv, 60–62.

into the underground world, "the jaws of the earth." On entering he finds a sea, over which is stretched a hair. To give a visible representation of his passage over this dangerous bridge, the shaman totters from side to side, and seems sometimes to be on the point of falling. At the bottom of the sea he views the bones of many fallen shamans, for a sinful soul cannot cross the hair bridge. When he reaches the other shore, the *kam* meets several sinners suffering punishments corresponding to their guilt, e.g., an eaves-dropper is fixed with his ear against a pillar. Finally the shaman rides up to Erlik's abode; he is met by dogs; at first the porter will not let the *kam* pass, but he is at length appeased with presents. Before the ceremony begins, pots of home-brewed beer, boiled beef, and skunk skins are prepared for this purpose. After receiving the gifts, the porter lets the traveller into the *yrta* of Erlik. Hereupon the *kam* goes up to the door of the *yrta* in which the performance is taking place, and affects to believe that he is approaching Erlik, who is sitting at the other end of the *yrta*; he bows, and puts his tambourine against his forehead, saying, "Mergu! mergu!" and then tells whence and why he has come. Then the *kam* cries out; this means that Erlik has noticed him, and has cried out from anger at his coming. The alarmed *kam* runs back to the door, and then again approaches Erlik's throne. He repeats this manoeuvre three times, and then Erlik says, "Those that have feathers fly not hither, those that have bones walk not hither; thou black, ill-smelling beetle, whence comest thou?" The sage shaman explains who he is, and treats the lord of hell to wine; in doing this, he pretends to take wine from the pots, fills his tambourine, and presents it to Erlik-Khan. Then he represents the Khan drinking the wine, and hiccoughs in his stead. After slaking the Khan's thirst, he offers him an ox, which has been previously killed, and the use of a collection of furs and clothes taken from the chests and hung on a rope; touching these things with his hand, the sorcerer hands them over to the khan, and says, "May this *tolu* of varied shapes, which cannot be lifted by a horse, be for clothes on thy neck and body." But these things are left with the master of the house. As each thing is handed over, the tambourine is tapped. Erlik becomes drunk, and the *kam* mocks the drunken god. The propitious deity now gives his blessing to the suppliant, promises to multiply cattle, and even reveals what mare will bring forth a colt, and how it will be marked. The *kam* joyfully returns homeward, not on a horse, as before, but riding on a goose, and he walks about the *yrta* on tiptoe, as if he were flying. He imitates the cry of a goose. The *kamlanie* comes to an end, the shaman sits down, somebody takes the tambourine out of his hands, and beats on it thrice. The *kam* goes on beating his palm or his breast with his drum-stick, until it is taken away from him. After this the *kam* rubs his eyes as if he were awaking. He is asked, "What sort of ride had you? How did you get on?" And he replies, "I have had a successful journey! I was well received!"¹

¹ Potanin, iv, 64-68.

Ceremonies and Songs of an Altaian Kam while Sacrificing to Bai-Yulgen.—The activity of the *kam* as a sacrificer, a conjurer up of spirits, and a soothsayer, is manifested most brilliantly in the ceremonies attending a great sacrifice to the celestial deity, Bai-Yulgen, who dwells on the golden mountain in the sixteenth heaven. All the songs and invocations were written down in the fifth decade of the present century, at the Altai mission, and were published by the priest Verbitskii. Mr. Radloff made a translation, and gave a full account of this festival, which is kept from time to time by every family. The festival takes place in the evenings of two or three days. On the first evening begins the preparation for the sacrifice. The *kam* selects a spot in a birch thicket in a little meadow, and there he places a new and ornamented *yrta*. In the *yrta* they put a young birch with the foliage on it; the lower branches are lopped off close to the trunk; on one of the topmost branches a flag is hung. At the bottom of the tree they cut on the trunk, with an axe, nine steps (*tapy*). Round the *yrta* a penfold is made, as if for cattle; opposite the door of the *yrta* is the entrance of the courtyard, and by the entrance is a birch stick with a noose of horse-hair. Then they choose a horse agreeable to the deity, and the *kam* has it held by a special person chosen from among those present, and called *Bash-tutkan kiski*, i.e., holder of the head. The shaman takes a birch twig and waves it over the horse's back, thus driving the soul of the sacrificed animal to Yulgen, at the same time the *Bash-tutkan's* soul accompanies it. The assembling of spirits in the tambourine takes place with great solemnity; the *kam* summons each spirit separately, and with a groan replies, "Here am I also, *kam*!" at the same time moving the tambourine as if taking the spirit into it. When he has assembled these assistants, the *kam* goes outside the *yrta*, sits down on a scarecrow in the form of a goose, and moving both arms rapidly like wings, he slowly sings in a loud voice:

"Below the white sky,
Above the white cloud,
Below the blue sky,
Above the blue cloud,
Mount, O bird, to the sky!"

To all the speeches of the shaman the goose replies by quacking, "*Ungai gak gak, ungai gak, kaigai gak gak, kaigai gak.*" The shaman himself, of course, does this imitation of the goose's voice. On his feathered steed the *kam* pursues the soul, *pura*, of the sacrificed horse, and neighs like a horse; finally, with the aid of the spectators, he drives it to the penfold, to the birch stick with the noose which represents the guardian of the animal's soul. The *kam* neighs, kicks, and makes a noise as if the noose were catching him by the throat, pulls, and sometimes throws down his tambourine as a sign that the horse has freed itself and run away. Finally, having recaptured the *pura*, he fumigates it with juniper and discards the goose. Then the animal destined for sacrifice is brought, the *kam* blesses it, and, with the aid of some of the

bystanders, kills it in a most cruel manner. The bones and skin become the sacrifice, and the flesh is eaten up, with various ceremonies, the *kam* receiving the choicest portion.

The most important part of the performance takes place on the second day, after sunset; it is then that the *kam* must display all his power and all his dramatic art. A whole religious drama is performed, descriptive of the *kam's* pilgrimage to Bai-Yulgen in heaven. A fire burns in the *jurta*, the shaman feeds the lords of the tambourine, *i.e.*, the spirits, personifying the shamanistic power of his family, with the meat of the offering, and then sings:

“Accept this, O Kaira Khan!
Master of the tambourine with six bosses,
Come to me amid the tinkling!
If I cry ‘Chokk!’ bow thyself!
If I cry ‘Mé!’ accept this!”

With a similar invocation he addresses the master of the fire, representing the power of the family of the owner of the *jurta*, the organiser of the festival. Raising a cup, the *kam* with his lips makes a noise as if invisible guests had assembled and were drinking, and he cuts up the meat into morsels and gives them to the spectators, who greedily gulp them down, as representatives of the unseen spirits. Fumigating with juniper nine garments, hung on a rope and decked with ribbons, which the master of the house offers to Yulgen, the *kam* sings:

“Gifts which no horse can carry,
Alás! Alás! Alás!
Which no man can lift,
Alás! Alás! Alás!
Garments with threefold collars,
Turn them over three times and look at them,
Let them be a cover for the racer,
Alás! Alás! Alás!
Prince Yulgen full of gladness!
Alás! Alás! Alás!”

When the *kam* has donned his shaman's dress, and carefully fumigated his tambourine, he sits down on a bench, and, striking his tambourine, summons many spirits, primary and secondary; on behalf of each he answers “Here am I, *kam*!” Towards the end of this invocation the shaman addresses himself to Merkyut, the bird of heaven:

“Celestial birds, the five Merkyuts!
You with mighty brazen claws,
The claw of the moon is of copper,
And the beak of the moon is of ice;
Mighty is the flapping of the broad wings,
The long tail is like a fan,
The left wing hides the moon,
The right wing hides the sun;
Thou, mother of nine eagles,
Without straying thou fliest over Yaik,
Thou art not wearied over Edil.
Come to me with song!
Sporting, approach my right eye!
Sit on my right shoulder!”

The shaman imitates the cry of this bird, and says: "Kagak, kak kak! *kam*, here I am!" He then bows down his shoulders, as if crushed by the weight of a huge bird. As the number of the spirits assembled increases, the *kam* beats more loudly on the tambourine, which becomes so heavy that he staggers under it. After having collected such powerful protectors and helpers, the shaman walks several times round the birch placed in the *yurta*, then kneels in front of the door, and asks the porter spirit to grant him a guide. A favourable answer being given, he noisily comes out into the middle of the *yurta*, and sharply beats his tambourine; the upper part of his body is shaken with convulsive movements, and an unintelligible muttering is heard. Then, with a peculiar motion of his drum-stick, the shaman pretends to scrape from the back of the master of the house all that is unclean, and thus liberates the soul, which, according to the belief of the Altaians, is in the back, from the influence of the wicked Erlik. Then he embraces the host, the hostess, their children and kinsfolk, in such a way that the tambourine touches the breast of each, while the drum-stick is held behind their backs. The shaman thus, with the aid of all the spirits collected in the tambourine, purifies them from all ills and misfortunes that the hostile spirit could bring upon them. After this purification, the people return to their places, and the shaman drives all the potential misfortunes out of doors. Then he puts his tambourine close to the host's ear, and with blows on this sacred instrument drives into him the spirit and power of his forefathers, thus preparing him to receive and understand the succeeding prophecies of the shaman. Indicating in pantomime that he is investing the host, hostess and all the members of the family with breast-plates and hats, the *kam* passes into a state of ecstasy; he jumps, knocks against those who are present, and suddenly places himself on the first step cut out of the birch trunk, at the same time raising the tambourine, thumping it with all his might, and shouting "gok, gok!" All the shaman's movements indicate that he is rising to the sky. In a joyous ecstasy he runs round the fire and the birch, imitating the sound of thunder, and then with convulsions he runs up to a bench covered with a horse-cloth. This represents the soul of the *pura*, the sacrificial horse; the *kam* mounts it and cries:

"I have mounted one step,
Aikhai! aikhai!
I have attained one zone.
Shagarbata!
I have climbed to the top of the *tapty* (the birch steps),
Shagarbata!
I have risen to the full moon.
Shagarbata!"

The shaman passes through one zone of heaven after another, and orders the *Bash-tutkan* to hurry. In the third zone, the *pura* is tired out, and, to relieve it, the *kam* calls the goose, which he mounts. But this temporary relief is of no avail; the shaman, on

behalf of the *Bash-tutkan*, makes a long speech in a tearful tone, telling of his exhaustion, and that of his steed. In the third space of heaven there is a halt, and the shaman tells the audience of all he has seen and heard in that zone; here it is that information is given about approaching changes in the weather, impending sickness and epidemics, misfortunes that are to befall neighbours, sacrifices to be offered by the district. In foretelling rainy weather, for instance, the *kam* sings:

“Kara Shurlu with six staves,
Drips on the low ground,
Nothing with hoofs can protect itself,
Nothing with claws can uphold itself.”

The *kam* may also make similar prophecies in other regions of the sky, at his discretion. After the *Bash-tutkan* is rested, the journey is continued; before each heaven, the shaman mounts on the next step of the birch tree. To give variety to the performance, various episodes are introduced: first the *karakush*, a black bird in the service of the *kam*, is treated to a pipe of tobacco, then the *karakush* chases the cuckoo; during this, the shaman coo-cooes, and imitates the report of the *karakush's* gun; in the third place, he waters the *pura* horse, and imitates the sound of a horse drinking. In the sixth sphere of heaven takes place the last episodic scene, and this has a comic tinge. The shaman sends his servant Kuruldak to track and catch a hare that has hidden itself. For a time the chase is unsuccessful, new personages are introduced, and one of them, Kereldei, mocks Kuruldak, who, however, at last succeeds in catching the hare. The fifth heaven is particularly interesting, for there the *kam* carries on a long conversation with the mighty Yayuchi (supreme creator), who reveals to him many secrets of the future. Some of these things the shaman communicates aloud, others he mutters rapidly.

In the sixth heaven he bends before the moon, who dwells there, and in the seventh, before the sun. In a similar manner the *kam* makes his way to the eighth, ninth heaven, &c. The more powerful the *kam* is, the higher he mounts in the celestial regions; there are some, but few, who can soar to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and even higher. When he has reached the summit of his power, the *kam* stops, drops his tambourine, and, gently beating with his drum-stick, invokes Yulgen in a humble prayer:

“Lord to whom three ladders lead,
Bai-Yulgen, owner of three flocks,
The blue slope which has appeared,
The blue sky which shows itself,
The blue cloud which whirls along.
Inaccessible blue sky,
Inaccessible white sky,
Place a year's journey distant from water,
Father Yulgen thrice exalted,
Whom the edge of the moon's axe shuns,
Who uses the hoof of the horse.
Thou, Yulgen, hast created all men,

Who are stirring round about us,
 Thou, Yulgen, hast endowed us with all cattle,
 Let us not fall into sorrow!
 Grant that we may resist the evil one!
 Do not show us Kermes (the evil spirit that attends man)
 Give us not over into his hands!
 Thou who the starry sky
 Thousands and thousands of times hast turned,
 Condemn not my sins! "

From Yulgen the shaman learns whether the sacrifice is accepted or not, and receives the most authentic information concerning the weather, and the character of the coming harvest; he also finds out what sacrifices are expected by the deity. On such an occasion the shaman designates the neighbour who is bound to furnish a sacrifice, and even describes the colour and appearance of the animal; Mr. Radloff remarks that the *kam* is not wholly disinterested in these cases. After his conversation with Yulgen, the ecstasy of the shaman reaches its highest point, and he falls down completely exhausted. Then the *Bash-tutkan* goes up to him, and takes the tambourine and drum-stick out of his hands. The shaman is quite motionless and silent. After a short time, during which quiet reigns in the *yurta*, the shaman seems to awake, rubs his eyes, stretches himself, wrings out the perspiration from his shirt, and salutes all those present as if after a long absence.

Sometimes the festival ends with this great ceremony, but more frequently, especially among the wealthy, it lasts another day, which is spent in libations to the gods, and feasting, during which an enormous quantity of *kumys* and other strong drink is consumed.¹

The account, given above in an abridged form, of the journeyings and spirit-raising of an Altai shaman, is taken from Mr. Radloff's detailed description, and is the most exhaustive and complete picture we have of the fantasy of the Siberian shamanists, and is consequently of great value for the comparative ethnographical study of our subject.

The tambourine and drum-stick.—The shaman, as mediator in dealings with the spirit world, must, during his functions, bear outward signs to distinguish him more or less from other people. The most important appurtenances of the profession are the tambourine and drum-stick, and the various parts of the shaman's dress. The tambourine is met with amongst almost all the Siberian tribes who have shamans; besides its power in calling up spirits, it has the miraculous power of carrying the shaman. Mr. Potanin dwells in detail on the shamans' tambourines among the Altaians, and compares them with the tambourines of the other Siberian peoples. All the tambourines seen by Mr. Potanin were circular; but, according to Mr. Yadrintsev, all those used among the Chernev Tatars are oval. The tambourine consists of a hoop or rim, of a palm in breadth, with skin stretched over it on one

¹ Radloff: "Aus Siberien," ii, 20-50.

side; on the concave side of the tambourine two vertical cross pieces of wood and one horizontal iron cross piece are fixed. The wooden cross piece is called by the Altaians *bar*, but other tribes give it other names. The *bar* has the form of a spindle broadening at the upper end (the broad part is shaped like a human head), at the lower end it forms a fork, resembling legs.¹ On the upper part, eyes, a nose, mouth and chin are marked. The iron cross-piece is called *krish* (bow-string) among the Altaians; it is an iron rod on which are iron rattles, called *kungru* in Altaian; the number of these rattles is greater or less according to the rank of the *kam*. Their number corresponds with that of the *chalus*, or spirits, subject to the shaman. Besides the *kungrus*, there are small sword-shaped trinkets fixed on the inner side of the tambourine, to the right and left of the head of the *bar*. On the outside of the hoop or rim are bosses about the size of a bean, and sometimes smaller. On the bow-string, under the beard of the *bar*, are fastened bands of narrow cloth, and these are called *yalama*. On the skin of the tambourine, sometimes on both sides, sometimes on the inner side only, are drawings in red paint. According to Mr. Yadrintsev's description, the tambourines of the Chernev and Kumandinsk Tatars differ from those of the Altaians; the vertical cross-piece has no representation of a human face, and is only a plain piece of wood. On the outer side of the tambourine of the Chernev Tatars there are drawings of animals and trees. A horizontal line separates it into two unequal parts; the upper part is the larger, and on it is figured a bow, the ends of which rest on the horizontal belt. Within the bow are two trees, and on each of them sits a *karagush* bird; to the left of the trees are two circles, one light, the sun, the other dark, the moon. Under the horizontal stripe are frogs, a lizard, and a snake; on the cross stripe and the bow are stars.² A certain *kam* gave Mr. Klements some curious explanations of the pictures on a tambourine.

(A) *Lower part of the tambourine.*

- (1) *Bai-kazyn* (painted in white), literally "the rich birch." This is the name given to the birches at which the yearly sacrifices take place.
- (2) *Ulug-bai-kazyn* (in white paint). Two trees that grow in Ilkhan's kingdom.
- (3 and 4) *Ak-baga* (white frog), *Kara-baga* (black frog), servants of Ilkhan.
- (5) *Chzhity-us*, certain spirits with seven nests and seven feathers.
- (6) *Chzhity-kyz* (seven maidens), who let loose seven diseases against man.
- (7) *Ulgere*; he is invoked in case of diseases of the teeth and ears.
- (8) *Ot-imeze*, signifying "mother of fire."

¹ Figs. *b* and *c* on p. 18, vol. ii of Radloff's "Aus Siberien."

² Potanin, iv, 42-43.

(B) *Upper part of the tambourine.*

- (1) *Solban-ir* (translated by the *kam* as "dawn").
- (2) *Kyun*, the sun.
- (3) *Ike-karagus*, two black birds; they fly on errands from the shaman to the devils.
- (4) *Aba-tyus* (bear's *tyus*, whatever that may mean).
- (5) *Sugyznym-karagat*, the horses of Ilkhan.
- (6) *Kyzyl-kikh-khan*. He is invoked when men set out for the chase.

The remaining figures, painted with white colour, are the beasts chased by *kyzyl-kikh-khan*.

These pictorial representations on the tambourines have a peculiar interest for us; they are intimately connected with shamanist beliefs, and would throw light on the mysteries of shamanist necromancy, but, like all pictorial signs, these drawings need to be explained by persons intimately acquainted with the ideas and facts to which they refer. We have as yet but few materials of this kind, and must restrict ourselves to the vaguest conclusions, *e.g.*, that the terrestrial and underground worlds are portrayed on the tambourine, separated by a horizontal band. Mr. Potanin notes such a division in the Ostyak tambourine of which he gives a drawing in his book.² If we were in possession of more of these pictorial materials, and texts like that published by O. Verbitskii, light might be thrown on this important question, but so far, all explanations have been rather of the nature of guess-work. Among the Buryats, the tambourine has been almost supplanted by the bell, and Mr. Khangalov only saw a tambourine in the hands of one shaman, who was an inexperienced beginner. If we may judge from this specimen, the Buryat tambourine has the dimensions and shape of a sieve; horse-skin is stretched upon it, and fastened behind with small straps; there were no drawings on it, either inside or outside, but the surface was bespattered with some white substance. According to Khangalov, the tambourine among the Buryats has a symbolic meaning; it represents the horse which can convey the shaman whither he will. The Yakuts make their tambourines of a lengthened circular form, and cover them with cowhide. On the inner side are two iron cross-pieces, arranged crosswise, and forming a handle. The tambourine is hung with little bells and rattles; it serves the Yakut, like the Buryat shaman, as a horse on which he rides to the spirit realm.⁴

But it is not all shamans who attain the high honour of having a tambourine; frequently a long time passes during which the spirits will not allow this magic instrument to be made. Gmelin, for instance, says that many Buryat shamans are not permitted by

¹ Klements: "Nyeskolko obraztsov bubnov minusinskikh inorodtsev. Zap. Vos. Sib. Otd. I. G. O. P.," v, 2, 26.

² Potanin, iv, 680.

³ Agapitov and Khangalov, 4 t.

⁴ Pripuzov, 65.

the demons to have a tambourine, and during their *kamlanie* use two long sticks, striking them crosswise against each other.¹ Perhaps it is to this cause that we must attribute the fact that Mr. Khangalov saw no tambourines among the Buryat shamans, excepting in one instance. With the decline of shamanism, the number of persons able to make this sacred instrument, duly observing all the unknown ceremonies necessary, becomes smaller; the process of *kamlanie* is simplified, and the will of the spirits is made the excuse. As regards the mallet with which the tambourine is beaten, it is sufficient to observe that this instrument is encased in skin of some sort, so that the sound may not be too sharp. Among the Altaians, for instance, the mallet is covered with the skin of a wild goat or a hare.² Among certain tribes, *e.g.*, Buryats, Sojots, Kumandintses, Yakuts, they use for divining and for summoning spirits, a peculiar musical instrument giving out a feeble, jarring sound.³ Despite all these, the tambourine continues to occupy the first place among shamanist instruments.

Shamanist dress and horse-sticks.—The shamans put on a special dress only when they are engaged with the spirits; in private life they are not distinguished from other people by any outward signs. Shashkov considers the following list to comprise all those articles of dress which are common to all the Siberian tribes: 1. An outer *caftan*; some of them are made of cloth, others of beasts' skins. They are hung with various rattles, rings, and representations of mythical animals. 2. A mask; among the Samoyed *tadibeis*, its place is taken by a handkerchief with which the eyes are covered, so that the shaman may penetrate into the spirit-world by his inner sight. 3. A copper or iron breast-plate. 4. A hat, one of the chief attributes of the shaman.⁴ Gmelin describes the costume of a Tunguz shaman, and points out that, in addition to the ordinary shaman's dress, he also put on an apron hung with iron plates, bearing figures either sunk or in relief. His stockings were of leather, and trimmed with iron. He had no hat, for his old one had been burnt, and the deity will not give a new one. This shaman put on his dress over his shirt.⁵ The Yakut shamans adorn their fur coats with representations of a sun with holes in it, and a half moon, thus indicating the twilight that reigns in the spirit land. The coats are hung with monstrous beasts, fishes, and birds, as a sign that there are monsters in the spirit world. Behind hangs an iron chain, which, in the opinion of some, shows the strength and endurance of the shaman's power, while others think it is the steering gear for the journey to the spirit land. The iron plates serve as a protection against the blows of malevolent spirits. The tufts sewed on the fur coat signify feathers.⁶ The travellers of the eighteenth century

¹ Gmelin, iii, 26.

² Potanin, iv, 48.

³ Agapitov and Khangalov, 43.

⁴ Shashkov, 86.

⁵ Gmelin, ii, 193.

⁶ Pripuzov, 65. Mr. Pripuzov's description agrees in the main with that given by Mr. Shechukin in his "Poyezdka v Yakutsk," 1833, pp. 200 201.

paid great attention to the dress and accessories of the shamans. Pallas describes in detail the costume of a Buryat shamanka that he saw; she was accompanied by her husband and two Buryats, each with a magic tambourine. She held in her hands two sticks, ornamented at the upper end with a representation of a horse's head, and hung with small bells. From her shoulders there hung down her back to the ground about thirty snakes made of black and white fur, sewed together in such a way that the snakes looked as if they were formed of black and white rings. One of the snakes was divided into three at the end, it is therefore called *lyuga*, and is considered to be an indispensable ornament of every Buryat shamanka. Her hat was covered by an iron helmet, from which rose horns with three antlers, like the horns of a deer.¹

Gmelin visited the *yurta* of a much respected Buryat shamanka near Selenginsk. Her dress consisted of all the rags she could hang round her; most of the rags were more than a yard long and about 7 inches wide; almost every rag was adorned with embroidered images, and hung with silk strings and tassels. A box which stood in the *yurta* was full of clouts, flints and meteorites. All these things served for healing purposes; there was also a felt bag full of felt idols of various shapes.² The shaman's costume, hanging in the *yurta*, was, she declared, incomplete. These scanty descriptions of former travellers must be compared with the scientific investigations of modern ethnographers. In the exhaustive work of MM. Agapitov and Khangalov there is a systematic account of an ancient costume of the Buryat shamans, which is hardly ever met with nowadays. 1. An indispensable part of a shaman's belongings was a fur cloak or *orgoi*, white for a white shaman who dealt with good spirits, and blue for a black shaman, representative of evil spirits. The *orgoi* is made of silk or cotton stuff, and does not differ in cut from an ordinary fur cloak; on it are sewed metallic figures of horses, birds, &c. Some cups, representations of a certain animal, and an idol in a rhombic frame, which have been found, may, according to Agapitov and Khangalov, with plausibility be considered as belonging to the number of such adornments. 2. The hat among the shamans of the present day is of lynx skin, with a tuft of ribbons on the top; a peaked cap is even worn sometimes, but the tuft is indispensable. After a fifth ablution the shaman receives an iron hat³; it has the form of a crown and consists of an iron hoop to which two half-hoops are fixed crosswise; on the top of one of them is fastened a small iron plate, with the two ends turned up to look like two horns. Where the half hoops join the horizontal hoop there are fastened, in three places, three *kholbokho*, i.e., conical pendants, and at the back of the hoop is a chain of four links united by small rings; on the end of the chain hang objects resembling a spoon and an awl. 3. Horse-

¹ Pallas, iii, 181-182.

² Gmelin, ii, 11-13.

³ Fig. 3 in Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.

sticks are met with among all the Baikal Buryats; among those of Balagansk they do not exist. The shaman has two horse-sticks; they are made either of wood or iron.¹ The iron sticks are acquired by the shaman, like the iron cap, only after the fifth ablution. The wooden sticks are prepared on the eve of the first dedication; they are cut out of a growing birch; an endeavour is made to perform the excision in such a way that the birch will not wither. If the tree from which the stick is taken dies, it is considered an ill omen for the shaman. A birch is selected from among those that grow in the wood set apart for the burial of the shamans. The top of the stick is decorated with a horse's head; at some distance from the lower end a horse's knee is cut out, and the bottom has the form of a hoof. Some bells are fastened to the horse-sticks, and one of them is larger than the others. These sacred sticks are adorned with hollow *kholboko* cones, ribbons of four colours (blue, white, yellow, and red), skins of ermine, squirrel and skunk, and to make them still more like horses, small stirrups are hung on them. The iron sticks do not essentially differ from the wooden ones. The Olkhonsk Buryat shamans have also a *shire*, i.e., shrine. This is a box about 3 ft. 6 in. in length and 14 in. in height, to the top of the lid, having the form of a roof with a double slope. The box stands on legs about 28 in. high; it is decked with ribbons, bells and skins, and on one of the long sides are painted in red, or carved, representations of men, animals and other things.² Usually, at the end, on the right side, is a picture of the sun, and on the left, the moon. The sun has the form of a wheel, and in the middle of the moon is a human figure grasping a tree. The central part of the plank is occupied by three human figures; one of them is a woman, the other two are men; these are the inferior deities to whom they offer libations of wine several times in the year. In a line with these are drawn two quivers, a case for a bow, a bow and a sword, and under each human figure is a horse. In the *shire* are kept the horse-sticks, tambourine, and various sacrificial instruments. Nil, Archbishop of Yaroslavl, mentions two other objects: *abagaldei*, a monstrous mask of leather, wood or metal, with a huge beard painted on it, and *toli*, a metallic mirror with figures of twelve animals; it is worn on the breast or neck, and is sometimes sewed on to the shaman's dress; at the present time these two objects are hardly ever used by Buryat shamans.³

From Mr. Potanin's investigations it would seem that the special dress of the *kams* has been better preserved among the Altaian tribes than among the other Siberian peoples, and he gives some very curious information about this costume. The shaman's dress consists of the skin of a wild goat or reindeer; the outside is almost covered with a multitude of twisted handkerchiefs of various sizes,

¹ Fig. 2 in Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangelov.

² Figs. 4 and 5, Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangelov.

³ Agapitov and Khangelov, 42-44.

which represent snakes; they are embroidered with cloths of several colours, and sometimes with brocade. Some of the handkerchiefs are not sewed to the dress by the end, but in such a way that the upper end remains free, and looks like the head of a snake. On this are sometimes sewed imitations of eyes; on the thicker rolls, this end is slit, so that the snake's jaws are open. The tails of the larger snakes are forked, and on each end hangs a tassel; sometimes three snakes have a head in common. Besides these twisted handkerchiefs, narrow straps of reindeer skin are sewed on to the dress in bunches of nine. It is said that rich *kams* have a thousand and seventy snakes or twisted handkerchiefs. The small twisted handkerchiefs are called *manyak* by the Altaians; this name is also applied to the whole dress. Besides the twisted handkerchiefs and straps, *i.e.*, the *manyaks*, many other symbolic signs and rattles are fixed to the dress. Stirrup-shaped triangles of iron are often met with, on one of the corners of which iron trinkets are put, a small bow fitted with an arrow to frighten away evil spirits from the shaman during his *kamlanie*, and some *kholbogots*. On the back, two round copper plates are sewed; sometimes two others are sewed on the breast. Skins of small animals, such as ermine, striped squirrel and flying squirrel, are also sewed on with the *manyaks*. In the case of one *kam*, Mr. Potanin noticed four tobacco-pouches sewed on; these were feigned to be full of tobacco, though they were empty; the *kam* gives away this tobacco to the spirits during his wanderings in their country. The collar is trimmed with a fringe of the feathers of the white owl or brown owl; one shaman had sewed to his collar seven small dolls, and on the head of each was a plume of brown owl's feathers; these dolls, the shaman said, were the celestial maidens. In some dresses, the *manyaks* do not cover the whole dress from the collar to the waist, but a shred of cloth of some particular colour, *e.g.*, red, is sewed on, and to it are fastened round copper plates, *kholbogots*, and frequently little Russian bells; the wealthier *kams* have nine bells. The noise they make is asserted to be the voice of the seven maidens sewed to the collar, calling the spirit to come to them.

The hat of an Altaian shaman is a square or four-cornered piece of young reindeer's skin; the front is covered with cloth, or some other bright-coloured material. On one side are sewed two brass buttons, on the other are two button holes. Mr. Potanin saw a hat the upper edge of which was adorned with feathers from a golden eagle or brown owl, arranged in tufts; on the lower part was a fringe of cowrie shells hung on strips of skin. This piece of skin is laid with its lower edge on the brow; the sides are turned to the back of the head, and it is buttoned at the back, thus forming something like a European tall hat. If the strip of skin is narrow and stiff, the upper part of it sticks straight up, and the plume gives the head-dress the appearance of a diadem. Some Teleut shamans make their hats of brown owl's skin; the wings are left as ornaments, and sometimes the bird's head is left on too. It is not all shamans who have the right to wear the *manyak* and the brown owl hat;

during the ceremony of *kamlanie* the spirits reveal to their favourites that the time has come when they may prepare this professional dress. Among the Chernev Tatars, the shamans sometimes use a mask (*kocho*), made of birch bark and ornamented with squirrel tails to represent eyebrows and moustache. Among the same people Mr. Yadrintsev remarked the use of two crutches; one of them was considered to be a staff, the other a horse, like the horse-sticks of the Buryat shamans.¹

All the separate parts of the dress of Siberian shamans, and their other professional belongings, have a threefold significance, both separately and conjointly. The shamans, by the outward appearance of their costume, in consequence of its originality, endeavour to produce a strong impression on the spectators; the sound of the bells, metal trinkets, and rattles on the tambourine, and the sticks which are struck against each other, agitates the audience, and puts them into a peculiar state of mind. Finally, all the objects and ornaments belonging to the shaman have their definite meaning, sometimes even of a mystic character, intelligible only to shamanists, and closely connected with their philosophy.

How the rank of shaman is attained.—It is not everyone who can become a shaman, and the position is bestowed, among the Siberian tribes, either by hereditary right or in consequence of a special predisposition manifesting itself in a boy or youth chosen by the spirits for their service. Among the Trans-Baikal Tunguses, he who wishes to become a shaman declares that such and such a dead shaman has appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to be his successor; in addition, everyone before becoming a shaman “shows himself to be crazy, stupefied and timorous.”² According to the stories of the Tunguses of Turukhansk, the man who is destined to become a sorcerer sees in a dream the devil “*khargi*” performing shamanist rites. It is at this time that the Tungus learns the secrets of his craft.³

The Yakut shamans and shamankas do not receive the magic talent by inheritance, although there is a tradition that if a necromancer arises in a family the dignity is not transferred; they are preordained to serve the spirits whether they wish it or not. “*Emekhet*,” the guardian spirit of the dead shaman, endeavours to enter into some one among the kinsfolk of the deceased. The person destined to shamanism begins by raging like a madman; suddenly he gabbles, falls into unconsciousness, runs about the woods, lives on the bark of trees, throws himself into fire and water, lays hold of weapons and injures himself, so that he has to be watched by his family; by these signs they know that he will be a shaman; they then summon an old shaman acquainted with the abodes of the aerial and subterranean spirits. He instructs his pupil in the various kinds of spirits, and the manner of summoning them. The consecration of a shaman among the Yakuts is accom-

¹ Potanin, iv, 49-54.

² “*Sibirskii Vvestnik*,” 1822, 39-40.

³ Tretyakov, 211.

panied by certain ceremonies ; the old shaman leads his pupil on to a high hill or out into the open field, clothes him in shaman's dress, invests him with tambourine and drum-stick, places on his right nine chaste youths and on his left nine chaste maidens, then dons his own dress, and, standing behind the new shaman, causes him to repeat certain words. First of all he demands that the candidate should renounce God and all that he holds dear, promising that he will consecrate his whole life to the demon who will fulfil his prayers. Then the old shaman tells where the various demons dwell, what diseases each causes, and how he may be appeased. Finally the new shaman kills the animal destined for sacrifice, his dress is sprinkled with the blood, and the flesh is eaten by the throng of spectators.¹ Among the Siberian Samoyeds and Ostyaks the shamans succeed to the post by inheritance from father to son. On the death of a shaman, his son who desires to have power over the spirits makes of wood an image of the dead man's hand, and by means of this symbol succeeds to his father's power.² Among the Ostyaks, the father himself selects his successor, not according to seniority but fitness, and conveys to the chosen one all his science ; the childless leave their profession to friends or pupils. Those destined to be shamans spend their youth in practices which irritate the nervous system and excite the imagination.³ Tretyakov describes the ordination of shamans among the Samoyeds and Ostyaks of the Turukhan district. According to his account, the candidate stands with his face to the west, the old shaman prays the dark spirit to aid the novice, and expresses the hope that the latter will not be left without an assistant spirit. Finally the instructor sings a sort of hymn to the spirit of darkness, and the new shaman has to repeat a prayer after him. The spirits try the beginner, they demand his wife, his son, and he ransoms them with sacrifices and promises to share the offerings with them.⁴

In the southern part of Siberia, among the Buryats, anybody may become a shaman, but the profession is generally only followed by those who belong to a shamanist family and have had ancestors, paternal or maternal, engaged in that occupation. Besides these, there are shamans specially chosen by the gods themselves ; if anyone is killed by lightning, this is looked upon as a direct expression of the will of the gods, who thus indicate that the family has been selected by them ; the deceased is considered to be a shaman and is buried as such ; his nearest kinsman has a right to be a necromancer. Stones that fall from the sky may also give a Buryat shamanist power. It is said that a man once drank *tarasun* in which such a stone had been washed, and became a shaman in consequence. These fortuitous shamans are generally unfitted for this work, through lack of early training, and, owing to their

¹ Pripuzov, 64-65. V. S.—kii : "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," "Sibirskii Sbornik," 1890, v. ii, 130.

² Tretyakov, 211.

³ Belyavskii, 113-114.

⁴ Tretyakov, 210-211.

ignorance, they are guided by old men, appointed for this purpose, who are experienced, and know the ceremonies and prayers. But usually the dead ancestors who were shamans choose from their living kinsfolk a boy who is to inherit their power. This child is marked by special signs: he is often thoughtful, fond of solitude, a seer of prophetic visions, subject occasionally to fits, during which he is unconscious. The Buryats believe that at such a time the boy's soul is with the spirits, who are teaching him, if he is to be a white shaman, with the western spirits, if he is to be a black shaman, among the eastern spirits. Dwelling in the palaces of the gods, the soul, under the guidance of the dead shamans, learns all the secrets of the shamanist craft; it remembers the names of the gods, their dwelling place, the forms used in their worship, and the names of the spirits subject to these great gods. After enduring trials, the soul returns to the body. Year by year the tendency of mind becomes more pronounced; the youth begins to have fits of ecstasy, dreams and swoons become more frequent; he sees spirits, leads a restless life, wanders about from village to village and tries to *kam*. In solitude he carries on shamanist exercises with energy, somewhere in a forest or on a hill-side by a blazing fire. He invokes the gods in an unnatural voice, shamanizes, and frequently falls fainting. His friends follow him at a distance to see that no harm befalls him.

As long as the future mediator between gods and men is preparing for his new duties, his parents or kinsfolk appeal for help to a skilled shaman; they summon the gods and offer them sacrifices, praying that their kinsman may come safely through the ordeal. If the future shaman belongs to a poor family, the whole community helps to get animals for sacrifice and objects necessary for the rites. The preparatory period lasts some years; its length depends on the abilities of the youth. As a rule the candidate does not become a shaman before he is twenty years of age. Before entering upon his duties the candidate must go through a ceremony known as body-washing. One ablution does not suffice to give all the rights of the office; the operation must be repeated from three to nine times, but the majority are satisfied with one or two; indeed, there are some who omit the ceremony altogether, dreading the vast responsibility it brings, for the gods deal exceptionally severely with those who have undergone consecration, and sternly punish with death any serious mistake. The first ceremony of consecration is preceded by what is called the water purification. For this purpose an experienced shaman is selected, called the father-shaman, and nine young men, called his sons, are appointed his assistants. The water for the ablution must be spring water; sometimes it is drawn from three springs. They set out for the water on the morning of the day when the ceremony is to take place; they take with them *tarasun*, and offer libations to the master and mistress spirits of the well. On the way back they tear up by the roots young birch trees, shoots sprouting from seeds, bind them up into brooms, and carry them to the *yuria* of the candidate. The water is warmed in

a kettle on the hearth, and they throw into it juniper, wild thyme, and fir bark to purify it. Then they take a goat which is held in readiness, cut a little hair off its ears, a fragment from each hoof and horn, and throw all this into the kettle. After this, the goat is killed in such a way that drops of its blood run into the water, which is then ready for the ceremony. The goat's flesh is given to the women, and they cook and eat it. The father-shaman first divines from the shoulder of a sheep, then he summons the shamanist predecessors of the candidate, and offers wine and *tarasun* as a sacrifice; after the sacrifice he dips the birch brooms in the water and beats the future soothsayer on the naked back; the sons of the shaman do likewise, at the same time saying, "When a poor man calls thee, ask little of him in return, and take what is given. Have a care for the poor, help them, and pray the gods to protect them against evil spirits and their power. If a rich man call thee, ride to him on a bullock, and do not ask much for thy services. If a rich man and a poor man both send for thee at the same time, go first to the poor and then to the rich." The new shaman promises to observe these precepts, and repeats the words of a prayer uttered by the father-shaman. When the ablution is finished they make a libation of *tarasun* to the guardian spirits, and this concludes the ceremony. The water purification is frequently performed subsequently by the shaman; it is compulsory once a year, but sometimes even monthly, at the new moon, and also on special occasions when the shaman feels himself defiled in any way, *e.g.*, by contact with unclean things; when the defilement is very grievous the purification must be by blood. The shaman also purifies himself when any death takes place in the village. Some time after the ceremony of purification, the first dedication, called *khереge-khulkhe*, takes place, and large contributions are raised in the community to cover the expenses. A father-shaman and nine sons are again chosen, and the ceremony of dedication begins with a procession, on horseback, of the shaman, his guide, and the nine helpers, to their acquaintances, to collect offerings. In front of each *yurta* the riders stop, and cry out a summons to the inhabitants, who entertain them, and hang offerings in the form of kerchiefs and ribbons on a birch, which the candidate holds in his hands; they also give money sometimes. Then they purchase wooden cups, bells for the horse-sticks, and other objects, silk, wine, &c. On the eve of the ceremony they cut down in the forest the necessary quantity of thick birches. The young men cut the wood, under the direction of the old man. From a very strong and straight birch they carefully cut out two planks to make the horse-sticks. They also hew down a fir tree. All this timber is taken from the wood where the inhabitants of the village are buried. To feed the spirit of the wood, they bring sheep's flesh and *tarasun*. At the same time they get ready the shaman's outfit, and the father-shaman and his colleagues from other places shamanize, and invoke the protecting gods. On the morning of the day on which the ceremony happens, the trees that have been brought in are put in the proper

places. First of all they lay in the *yrta* a great thick birch with its roots stuck in the right hand south-western corner, at the point where the earthen floor lies bare round the hearth; the top of the tree is thrust out through the smoke hole. This birch symbolically indicates the porter god who allows the shaman ingress into heaven; it is left there permanently, and serves as a distinctive mark of a shaman's abode. At the consecration, the remaining birches are placed outside the hut, in the place where the ceremony will be performed, in a certain order, beginning from the east: 1. A birch under which they place, on a piece of white felt, *tarasun*, &c.; to the tree are fastened red and yellow ribbons if the shaman is a black shaman, white and blue ribbons if he is a white shaman, and all four colours if he is going to serve both good and evil spirits; 2. A birch to which they attach a large bell, and the horse that is to be sacrificed; 3. A birch tree, of sufficient size, which the new shaman must climb; all these three birches are called *sergé* (pillars), and they are generally dug up by the roots; 4. Nine birches, in groups of three, bound round with a rope of white horse-hair, to which are fastened ribbons in a certain order, white, blue, red, yellow, and then the same colours again; on these birches are hung nine beasts' skins, and a *tuyas* of birch bark containing food; 5. Nine posts to which they fasten the animals for sacrifice; 6. Thick birches laid out in order; to these are afterwards tied the bones of the sacrifices, enveloped in straw. From the chief birch in the *yrta* to all the birches outside, two tapes are stretched, one red and one blue; this is a symbol of the shaman's road to the spirit land. To the north of the row of birches are placed nine great kettles, in which the meat of the sacrifice is cooked.

When all is ready, the newly consecrated shaman and the other participators in the ceremony deck themselves, and proceed to consecrate the shaman's instruments; it is then that the horse-sticks are endued with life; they turn into living horses. From early morning the shamans collected in the *yrta* have been shamanizing, summoning the gods, and sprinkling *tarasun*. After the ceremony of aspersion, the old shaman summons the protecting deities, and the young shaman repeats after him the words of a prayer, at the same time he occasionally climbs up the birch to the roof of the *yrta*, and there loudly calls upon the gods. When the time for issuing forth from the *yrta* is come, four shamans take each a corner of the piece of felt, and sing and wail; at the entrance to the *yrta*, on the street, they kindle a fire, and throw wild thyme on it. The fire serves to purify everything that is carried through it. During the time spent in the *yrta*, human beings and inanimate objects undergo purification. The procession, in a certain order, goes to the place when the birch trees are arranged; in front walks the father-shaman; then comes the young shaman, followed by the nine sons, the kinsfolk and guests. The essential features of the consecration may be considered the following:

- (1) When the shaman anoints himself with the blood of the sacrificed kid, on the head, eyes and ears,
- (2) When he is carried on the felt carpet, and
- (3) When he climbs up the birch, and from the summit of the *yurta* calls upon the gods and his kinsmen, the dead shamans.

The ceremony concludes with various sacrifices and popular games¹ It will be seen, from the above description, that the consecration of a shaman is expensive, and accompanied by sacrificial rites which produce on the beholders a lasting impression, and give dignity to the profession in the eyes of the Buryats.

Among the tribes in the Altai, the ability to shamanize is inborn; instruction only gives a knowledge of the chants, prayers and external rites. The future *kam* begins to realize his destiny at an early age; he is subject to sickness, and often falls into a frenzy. In vain do many of the elect struggle against this innate tendency, knowing that the life of a shaman is not an enviable one, but this restraint brings greater suffering upon them; even the distant sounds of a tambourine make them shiver. Those who have the shamanist sickness endure physical torments; they have cramps in the arms and legs, until they are sent to a *kam* to be educated. The tendency is hereditary; a *kam* often has children predisposed to attacks of illness. If, in a family where there is no shaman, a boy or girl is subject to fits, the Altaians are persuaded that one of its ancestors was a shaman. A *kam* told Potanin that the shamanist passion was hereditary, like noble birth. If the *kam's* own son does not feel any inclination, some one of the nephews is sure to have the vocation. There are cases of men becoming shamans at their own wish, but these *kams* are much less powerful than those born to the profession.²

Thus all the preliminary development of the shaman, from his childhood to the time when he is consecrated to the profession of *kam* or shaman, is of such a nature as to augment his innate tendencies, and make him an abnormal man, unlike his fellows. The ceremony of consecration has a similar character; the shaman assumes an exceptional position, takes vows upon himself, becomes the property of spirits who, though subject to his summons, have yet full power over him.

Cases in which necromancers are applied to.—To these soothsayers, skilled in all the secrets of the world of gods and spirits, the superstitious shamanist tribesmen, imbued with the gloomy ideas consequent upon their coarse animistic philosophy, address themselves in all the perplexities of life. All misfortunes, diseases, and death itself, are attributed by shamanists to the influence of external, supernatural causes, to remove which every effort is made. It is not to be wondered at that on the occasion of the great festivals connected with the sacrifices the shaman plays the chief part; he is then not so much a priest, a guardian of the ritual, as a

¹ Agapitov and Khangalov, 44-52.

² Potanin, iv, 56-57.

necromancer acquainted with the sacrifices agreeable to the gods, and the means of appeasing them. This characteristic of the shamans is especially apparent from the custom existing among the Turukhan Samoyeds of organising an annual necromantic ceremony. At the beginning of winter, when the hunting season ends, diseases begin to prevail among the Samoyeds, and they decide in an assembly that it is time for the shamans to watch the road, for it will be bad if men begin to die. The shamans give their consent to the preparation of "a clean *chyum*" (i.e., *yurta* or hut), and every Samoyed helps to make ready the materials; they get poles, bring reindeer and black oxen for sacrifice; from the skins they make coverings for the *chyum* and clothes for the shamans. The *chyum* is built on the shore of a lake, and has the form of an elongated tent; on the top of it, at the southern end, they place, in an inclined position, a wooden statue representing a man or a reindeer. On the north side, the poles are fastened in such a way that they form something like a tail extended in the form of a fan; this tail is anointed with reindeer's blood. Many traditions are connected with this hut, and it is the scene of various ceremonies, the most essential of which is the senior shaman's entry into it. The young people busy themselves with games, songs, and dances, then they kill a reindeer, and the eldest ghost-seer drinks its blood, and shamanizes in the presence of the other assembled necromancers and the older men. The ceremony concludes by the shamans kissing one another's hands.¹

Doings of the shamans among the Koryaks and Gilyaks.—The above description of the construction of a clean *chyum* among the tribes of the Turukhan region exhibits a full view of the social duties of the shamans, and clearly indicates the great importance of these guardians of the Black Faith. Although in many cases the shamans act as priests, and take part in popular and family festivals, prayers and sacrifices, their chief importance is based on the performance of duties which distinguish them sharply from ordinary priests. The essential attributes of these gloomy mediators between men and the dark hostile powers of the spirit world will become apparent on reviewing the most important cases in which the chief tribes of Siberia have recourse to shamans. The Koryaks, according to Krasheninnikov, look upon shamans as leeches, who by beating their tambourines drive away diseases, and declare what sacrifices must be offered to the spirits in order to cure the patient. Sometimes they order a dog to be slain, sometimes the laying of twigs, and other similar trifles, outside the *yurta*. The Gilyak shamans, also, busy themselves chiefly with healing the sick, by means of invocations, tambourine playing and whirling round; at times they cause the sufferer to leap through the fire, but they do not despise drugs prepared from plants, with the healing properties of which they are well acquainted. Besides their medical duties, the Gilyak shamans foretell the future, bring

¹ Tret'yakov, 220-222.

down rain, and do other things connected with their secret science.¹ Though at the present time, according to our missionaries, paganism among the Gilyaks and Golds is beginning to yield to Christianity, nevertheless, christened as well as pagan natives are still unable to give up the use of shamans and their fantastic rites. Twenty-five years ago, shamanist ceremonies were in universal use among them, and no one could do without the shaman. At a birth or a death, when a Gold or Gilyak set out on his winter hunting expedition or when he went fishing, the shaman was in every case indispensable.²

Shaman leeches among the Daur and Manchzhurs.—Among the Manchzhurs and Daur, on the banks of the Amur River, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the people, their attachment to the shamans, as doctors, is remarkable. Although the Russian doctors charge nothing for attendance, and supply drugs almost free, the natives, in all diseases except fever, apply to the shamans, although their services cost a great deal. These native practitioners live at the cost of the family until the patient has recovered, and insist upon the sacrifice of a pig worth from twenty to twenty-five roubles. The shamans cure all diseases except fever. Each *kamlunie* lasts, with interruptions, from eight o'clock in the evening until dawn. During the intervals the shaman fortifies himself with tea and tobacco. At the end, there is a feast of the animals sacrificed. During the *kamlanie* itself, in order to nerve the shaman in his struggle with the demons, they give him *khanshin*.³

Healing of diseases among the Yakuts.—In recent times, much interesting information has been collected concerning the Yakut shamans. In a long article on the beliefs of the Yakuts, a writer in the "Sibirskii Sbornik," calling himself V.S.—skii, describes in detail the shamanism existing among the natives. The shaman prescribes for all diseases, but especially Yakut maladies. The following diseases are looked upon as Yakut: obscure nervous complaints, such as hysteria, madness, convulsions, St. Vitus's dance, also barrenness, puerperal fever and other diseases of women, diseases of the internal organs, all kinds of abscesses, wounds, headaches, inflammation of the eyes, rheumatic fever, typhoid, inflammation of the lungs and larynx. There are some diseases that the shamans refuse to treat, *e.g.*, diarrhoea, scarlatina, small pox, measles, syphilis, scrofula, and leprosy. They are especially afraid of small pox, and will not shamanise in a house where it has been. All diseases proceed from evil spirits who have settled in human beings, and their treatment is intended to drive out or win over the unwelcome guests. The simplest method is that of healing by fire. In the Kolymsk district, a lad had an injured finger, which was painful, and occasionally broke out into an abscess. It was decided that the wicked spirit *Er* had taken possession of the finger.

¹ Krashenninnikov, ii, 58–59. Deniker, 294, 306.

² "Pribavlenie k Irkutskim Eparkhialnym Vedomostyam," 1887, 267.

³ "Vostochnoe Obozrenie," 1890, 20, 9; 32, 6.

Desiring to drive it thence, the patient took burning coal and blew it round the abscess. When the burnt flesh burst with a crackling sound, the patient, with a smile of satisfaction, remarked to the spectators, "Did you see him jump out?" Other domestic remedies to relieve suffering are the clanging of iron, loud cries, &c. When simple treatment of this kind is of no avail, the Yakuts apply to the shaman; he acts as intercessor for the unfortunate, and mediator between men and spirits when they come into collision. The obligations he takes upon himself are not light, the struggle he enters upon is a dangerous one. The author of the article describes that part of the shamanist ritual which is invariable. The shaman called in to visit a patient takes the post of honour, in the corner opposite the fire on the right hand wall, when one is looking towards the chimney hole and the door. Stretching himself out on his white mare's skin, the leech lies waiting for night, and the hour when he may begin his sorcery. All this time he is treated with deference, and supplied with food and drink. At length, when the sun has set, and the hut begins to be dark, hasty preparations are made: they chop wood, make faggots, and cook an exceptionally abundant and choice supper. Gradually the neighbours arrive, and take their places on the benches along the walls, the men on the right side, the women on the left. Conversation is carried on in a very sober manner, the movements of the visitors are slow and gentle. When all are at supper, the shaman sits up on the edge of his pallet, slowly unplaits his hair, in the meantime muttering something, and occasionally giving various orders. Sometimes he nervously hiccoughs, artificially, and then his whole body trembles in a strange way. The sorcerer's eyes do not look about; they are either cast down or fixed motionless on one point, generally on the fire. The fire gradually becomes dull, thick darkness fills the hut, the door is shut, and there is almost complete silence. The shaman slowly takes off his shirt and puts on his wizard's coat, then, taking a lighted tobacco pipe, he smokes for a long time, and swallows the smoke. The hiccoughs become louder, the trembling more alarming. When the shaman has finished smoking, his face is pale, his head has fallen far forward, and his eyes are half shut. In the meantime, the white mare's skin has been laid in the middle of the hut. The shaman takes a jar of cold water, drinks a few large gulps, and, with a slow sleepy motion, seeks on the bench the whip, twig or drum-stick prepared for him. Then he goes out into the middle of the hut and, bending his right knee four times, makes a solemn bow to the four sides of the universe; at the same time he spurts water from his mouth, all round. A tuft of white horse hair is thrown into the fire, which is then put out. By the faint glimmer of the smouldering coals, one can still see in the darkness, for a short time, the motionless figure of the shaman sitting with downcast head, holding in front of his breast, like a shield, a large tambourine. His face is turned to the south. All the people who are sitting on the benches hold their breath, and nothing is heard in the darkness save the indistinct muttering and hiccoughs of the

wizard. At last these sounds also cease; for a moment complete silence reigns. Soon after, there is heard a single yawn, sharp and metallic in sound, and then, in some part of the dark hut, a falcon cries loudly and clearly, or a sea-mew utters a piteous wail. After another interval, the tambourine begins to make a slight rolling noise, like the buzzing of mosquitoes: the shaman has begun his music. At first it is tender, soft, vague, then nervous and irregular like the noise of an approaching storm; it becomes louder and more decided. Now and then it is broken by wild cries; ravens croak, grebes laugh, sea-mews wail, snipes whistle, falcons and eagles scream. The music becomes louder, the strokes on the tambourine become confused in one continuous rumble; the bells, rattles and small tabors sound ceaselessly. It is a deluge of sounds capable of driving away the wits of the audience. Suddenly everything stops; one or two powerful blows on the tambourine, and then it falls on the shaman's lap. Silence at once reigns. This process is repeated, with slight variations, several times. When the shaman has worked up his audience to a sufficient pitch, the rhythm of the music is changed, and it is accompanied by broken phrases of song, gloomy in tone:

- (1) Powerful bull of the earth! . . . Steed of the steppe! . . .
- (2) I am the powerful bull . . . I roar! . . .
- (3) I neigh . . . steed of the steppe! . . .
- (4) I am a man placed above all! . . .
- (5) I am a man gifted above all! . . .
- (6) I am a man created by the lord powerful among the mighty! . . .
- (7) Steed of the steppe, appear! . . . Teach me! . . .
- (8) Magic bull of the earth appear! . . . Speak! . . .
- (9) Mighty lord, command me! . . .
- (10) May everyone with whom I go, hear with the ear! . . .
Let no one follow me to whom I say not—come! . . .
- (11) Henceforth, come no nearer than is allowed, let everyone
look with a keen eye! . . . Let him be quick to hear! . . .
Have a care of yourselves! . . .
- (12) Look to it well! . . . Be all such, all together . . .
all, as many as there are of you! . . .
- (13) Thou on the left hand, lady with the staff, if it happen
that I wander, or take not the right road, I pray thee
direct me! . . . Get ready! . . .
- (14) Show me my mistakes and show me the road, my mother!
Fly with a free flight! . . . Clear my broad path! . . .
- (15) Spirits of the sun, mothers of the sun, dwelling in the
south, in the nine woody knolls, you who will envy . . .
I pray you all . . . let them stand . . . let your
three shadows stand high! . . .
- (16) In the east, on his mountain, is the lord my grandsire,
mighty in strength, thick of neck—be with me! . . .
- (17) And thou greybeard, most worthy of wonder-workers (the

fire) I pray thee : approve all my thoughts without exception, grant all my wishes . . . hearken! . . . Fulfil! . . . All, all fulfil! . . .

The ritual used by the Yakut shamans is always the same. There are two forms of it—one longer and one abridged. It is the latter that we have given. The remainder of the ceremony is an improvisation adapted to certain cases and certain persons. When the shaman, by his singing, has brought down upon himself his guardian spirit, he begins to skip and move about on his skin mat, thus beginning the second part of his dramatic performance. The fire has been made up again, and its bright gleam illumines the hut, which is now full of noise and movement. The wizard ceaselessly dances, sings and beats his tambourine; first turning to the south, then to the west and east, he madly jumps and contorts himself. The time and step of his dance somewhat resemble the Russian *trepàk*, but it is faster, and lacking in boldness. Finally the shaman has learnt all he needs to know; he has discovered who caused the illness, and has assured himself of the support of the powerful spirits. Then begins the third part of the performance. Whirling, dancing, and beating the tambourine, the shaman approaches the patient. With fresh invocations he expels the cause of the disease, frightening it out, or sucking it out of the diseased place with his mouth. When the disease has been driven out, the shaman takes it into the middle of the hut, and, after many invocations, spits it out, drives it from the hut, kicks it away or blows it from the palm of his hand far up into the sky or under the earth. But it is not sufficient to drive out the disease: it is indispensable to appease the gods who have relieved the sufferer, and the shaman decides what sacrifice must be offered to the mighty spirits of heaven. At the termination of the ceremony, the shaman sits down again on his mare's skin, and sings and plays, the spectators lift him and his mat back to the place of honour which he occupied at the beginning.¹

Divination and propitiatory invocations of the Yakut oyuns.—Side by side with the healing of diseases is divination, with its various ceremonies. Gmelin refers to prophecy among the Yakuts, accompanied by the following methods: the shaman takes a ring or a coin, and holds it in the midst of the palm of the enquirer, moving it about in various directions as if examining it, and then foretells the future.² In an article in the "*Sibirskii Sbornik*," we are told that the Yakut shamans accompany the foretelling of the future with dramatic performances like those used in healing the sick.³ These necromancers are called in in all cases when it is desired to win success or avert misfortune. Mr. Vitashevskii tells how a

¹ "*Sibirskii Sbornik*." "*Prilozhenie k Vostochnomu Obozreniyu*," 1890, v. ii. "*Kak i vo chto vyeryut yakuty (Etnograficheskii nabrosok)*." V. S.—kago, 141-153.

² Gmelin, ii, 364-365.

³ "*Sibirskii Sbornik*," 158.

young Yakut, Siancha, on a visit to his father-in-law, who lived a verst and a half from the author, invited a shaman to offer a sacrifice, and invoke a blessing from the guardian spirit of hunters and fishermen. The Yakuts represent this spirit as a beast the size of a big year old calf, with hoofs like a cow, a dog's head, small eyes, and long hanging ears. The performance at which Mr. Vitashevskii was present took place on the night of the 8-9th February, 1890. It was extremely dramatic, and the author of the article gives a careful and detailed account of it. In many points, Mr. Vitashevskii's description is of great interest for comparative ethnography, and presents quite a unique phase of shamanist ritual. As a preliminary, an image of the spirit of hunting and fishing was made. It was simply a log of wood 3 in. thick and rather less than 28 in. long. On this log a rough drawing of a human face was made with a piece of coal. Besides this, the so-called "pillow" was made from a saddle, formed of two thick willows and twenty willow twigs. Both objects were taken to the door, and placed in such a way that the face of the image looked inwards. The performance began in the following way: three young fellows stood with the shaman, each holding in his right hand three lighted faggots. The shaman fumigated with the smoke of his faggots the three young men who stood facing the fire. Then all four threw down their faggots at random, and the young men mixed with the crowd. The shaman sat down on a stool facing the door, and, holding an arrow in his right hand, pronounced the following words. First of all he addressed Baryllakh, the spirit of the chase. We only give the beginning of the address:

"Baryllakh of my rich forest;
My lord grandsire,
Now—then!
Smile! . . ." &c.

The shaman then, in the name of the spirit, asked the young Yakut, who was going to hunt, what he was called, and receiving the answer, "They call me Sencha," the shaman pronounced some untranslated Mongol words and went outside, saying that Baryllakh himself would knock directly.

In a short time there was a knock outside, and by the open door entered the shaman, who was triumphantly met by the spectators. He acted the part of spirit of the chase, laughed, smirked, and, sitting down on the ground, to the right of the chimney, said, "Give me my darling, my friend!" Then they gave the shaman the image of Baryllakh and the pillow which had been made from the saddle. He smelt both all over, and caressed them; then he ordered them to be placed against the post which is in the *perednii ugol* (place of honour) under the *ikons*. On the pillow they placed a cup of *salamata* (hasty pudding), and threw butter in the middle of the fire. In the morning, the master of the house where the performance took place ate up the *salamata*. The image of Baryllakh, and the saddle pillow, were taken away into the woods. Thus ended the shaman's sorcery. It is to be noted that the Yakuts

represent Baryllakh as always giggling, and fond of laughter. When huntsmen have killed an elk, they go up to the beast laughing, in order to win the favour of the spirit.

Mr. Vitashevskii has given another detailed account of a shamanist ceremony, organised, to appease the spirits, by a converted Yakut who wished to ameliorate his disordered affairs. The same shaman, one Simen, officiated.¹ In this, as in the preceding case, one can see, in a coarse form, the simple beginnings of those dramatic tendencies which among highly cultured peoples have reached such an extensive development, and have become one of the highest phases of literature. The shaman, in presence of his uncritical fellow-countrymen, gives the reins to his fancy, and tries by an original *mise-en-scène* to make an impression on the visual faculty; he brings up spirits, mingles the comic with the tragic element, and, with an art surprising in a semi-savage, enchains the minds of his audience. Even the Russians who have inhabited the country for a long time are often attracted by these shamanist shows.

Methods of healing among the Tunguses.—Among the Tunguses, both pagan and Christian, the shaman, according to Shchukin, is not a priest, but a wizard who heals and divines.² For the cure of the sick they apply to shamans, who, by inspecting the blood and livers of slain birds or other animals, diagnose the disease. They declare the means by which the gods may be appeased. By direction of these necromancers new idols are made, and sacrifices are offered. The sacrifice takes place inside the *yurta*, in the evening. The shaman takes the patient's head between his hands, sucks his brow, spits in his face, and fixedly looks at the affected part.³

And Ostyaks.—The Ostyaks, by command of the shaman, bring into the *yurta* of the sick person several reindeer; to the leg of one deer they fasten one end of a rope, the other end is held by the patient, and when the latter pulls the rope they kill the deer. The head and horns are laid on the floor, the flesh is eaten, and the sick man is anointed with the fat.⁴ In order to extract the devil, the Ostyak shaman takes hold of the diseased part with his teeth, and in a few minutes draws from his mouth a piece of the entrails of some beast, a small worm, or simply a hair. All these objects are considered to be embodiments of a disease.⁵

Leechcraft among the Kirghizes.—The Kirghiz shaman, like his colleagues in other tribes, adopts various methods to represent in a dramatic form his struggle with the spirits that possess the sick. Sitting down opposite the patient, he plays on the *balalaika* (three-stringed guitar), cries, sings, grimaces, then he runs about the

¹ V. Vitashevskii: "Materialy dlya izucheniya shamanstva u Yakutov, Zup. V. S. O. R. G. O. po etnografii," ii, v. 2^a, 37-48.

² "Poyezdka v Yakutsk." Izd. N. Shch., 91.

³ Shashkov, 99-100.

⁴ Shashkov, 98-99.

⁵ Tretyakov, 218.

yurta and out into the open air, where he mounts the first horse he can find, and gallops about on the steppe, chasing the spirit that torments the sick man. On his return, the shaman beats the patient with a whip, bites him till the blood flows, waves a knife over him, spits in his eyes, hoping by such radical means to drive out the spirit. These performances are repeated for nine days.¹

Among the Teleuts.—On the shores of Lake Teletsk, Helmersen witnessed the healing of one of his Teleut companions. The natives believed that evil spirits had entered his body, and were causing his pain and dismay. The *kam* Jenika undertook the cure. He began by tying some twigs together, put a red hot coal on the bundle, and waved it over the patient, meantime muttering some incoherent words. The sounds he made gradually became louder and more guttural, and finally broke into a wild song, accompanied by a swaying motion of the body. From time to time the chant was broken by loud deep sighs. The exorcism went on increasing in energy for a quarter of an hour; then Jenika placed the bundle of twigs by the sick man, sat down, and quietly smoked a pipe. The result of the treatment was that the patient was cured.² In the Altai Mountains, nightmare is attributed to the spirit Aza. To drive it away, a *kam* is summoned, who conjures in the *yurta* before a willow twig with five colours bound to it (*i.e.*, rags or ribbons of five colours).³

And Vogul Manzes.—On the borders of Siberia and European Russia, among the Vogul Manzes, the medical functions of the shamans consist of invocation of the gods, whispered charms, and the use of certain therapeutics. In all cases they enquire of the gods the cause of the illness. The gods receive sacrifices of reindeer, garments, and hides, then the patient drinks charmed water, vodka, and blood; he is anointed with blubber, reindeer fat, and still more frequently bear's grease, he is fumigated with castoreum and the sediment of boiled larch or birch, and rubbed with a bear's tooth. Frequently the same remedy is used for different diseases.⁴

The duties and functions of Mongol and Buryat shamans.—The Buryats, by their social life and education, stand on a higher level than the other Siberian peoples. Among them, shamanism must have undergone a greater degree of elaboration, and, thanks to certain Buryat scholars, we are in a position to give a detailed account of Buryat shamanism, notwithstanding the fact that the Yellow Faith of the Buddhist lamas is rapidly driving out the old Black Faith.

Dorji Banzarov examines the duties of the Mongol shamans in general, and the Buryat shamans in particular, under three heads:

¹ Shashkov, 99.

² Helmersen: "Reise nach den Altai (Baehr u. Helmersen Beiträge)" B. xiv, 71.

³ Potanin, iv, 130.

⁴ Gondatti: "Slyedy yazycheskikh vyerovanii u Manzov," 54.

as priest, physician, and wizard, or diviner. As priest, the shaman, knowing the will of the gods, decides what they want from men, and he performs sacrifices as an expert in ritual and prayers. Besides the ordinary general sacrifices, the shamans performed private sacrifices, of which, in Banzarov's opinion, the following were the most important: 1. On beginning any enterprise; 2. For the healing of disease; 3. To prevent murrain, the attacks of wolves on cattle, and, in general, any pecuniary loss; 4. A libation to the sky, on the occasion of a thunderstorm, especially the first thunder in spring. As physician, the shaman has a definite method of expelling the spirit from the patient's body, at the same time he performs tricks, and acts like a madman. The gift of prophecy makes him very powerful. He either prophesies simply, or by means of divination. Divination is by the shoulder bone, and by the flight of arrows.¹ While agreeing with the learned Buryat in many points, we must take exception to his view of the part played by the shamans as priests, which in Banzarov's classification of their duties occupies so prominent a place. More than once, we have pointed out that the priestly function of the shamans is of secondary importance, while the essence of shamanism is in sorcery, which is especially apparent in the curing of diseases and in divination. The majority of cases of sacrifice, of a so-called accidental character, mentioned by Mr. Banzarov, arise precisely from this fundamental source of shamanism. The Buryats chiefly apply to shamans and shamankas in two cases: when a member of a family falls sick, or when a horse is lost.² According to Mr. Sidorov, every shamanist ceremony due to disease or theft begins with divination by the shoulder bone of a sheep or a goat. The Buryats have a tradition about this shoulder bone. A written law was given by God to the chief tribal ancestor of the Buryats; on his way home to his own people he fell asleep under a haystack. A ewe came to the stack and ate up the law with the hay; but the law became engraved on the ewe's shoulder blade.³

In the Alarsk department of the government of Irkutsk, according to the priest Eremyeev, there is a superstition which does not exist in other districts. If anyone's child becomes dangerously ill, the Buryats of that region believe that the crown of his head is being sucked by Anokhoi, a small beast in the form of a mole or cat, with one eye in its brow. No one except the shaman can see this beast and free the sufferer from it.⁴ Shamans called in to visit patients, especially children, are called by the Buryats, Naizhis. If the patient recovers, he rewards the shaman, and calls him his *naizhi*. If anyone has sick children, or if his children die, any new born infants, or young sick children are visited by the shaman,

¹ Banzarov: "Chernaya vyera," 107-115.

² "Mongoly Buryaty v Nerchinskom Okrugye Irkutskoi gubernii." Zh. M. Vn. D., 1843, ch. iii, 85.

³ Sidorov: "Shaman i obryady shamanskoi vyery." Irkutskiya Eparkh. Vyed., 1873g, 465.

⁴ "Shamanstro Irkutskikh Buryat." Irk. Eparkh. Vyed., 1875g, 21, 300.

who, in order to preserve them from unclean spirits, makes a special amulet, called *khakhyukhan*. If the infant lives or recovers, as the case may be, the shaman is called *naizhi*, and rewarded for his trouble. If the child dies, the *khakhyukhan* is returned to the shaman, and the title of *naizhi* ceases to be applied to him. The duty of the *naizhi* is to protect the child, with the aid of the *zayans*, from evil spirits, and grant it his powerful protection. There are not *naizhis* in every family, and the Buryats only apply to such shamans in extreme cases. The *naizhis* are changed at the wish of the parents. It sometimes happens that one family has several guardian shamans. If the child grows up, he shows special respect to his *naizhi*.¹

(*To be continued.*)

"Religion in Japan: Shintoism—Buddhism—Christianity."

By G. A. Cobbold. Illustrated. pp. 113. (S.P.C.K.) 1894. 8vo. The volume gives a good account of religion at the present time in Japan.

"The Asiatic Origin of the Oceanic Languages;" an etymological dictionary of the language of Efate (New Hebrides). By Rev. D. Macdonald. (Melville, 1894.) pp. 212, 8vo. "This work gives in the first place, a dictionary of the language of Efate, New Hebrides, as accurate as I can make it after upwards of twenty-one years' constant study and use of the language in the performance of my duty as a missionary stationed on the island of Efate . . . In the second place the dialectical variations of Efatese words are given in a considerable number of instances; the cognate words in other languages of the Oceanic family are usually put within brackets, and are chosen purposely from its four great branches—the Papuan (or 'Melanesian'), the Maori-Hawaiian (or 'Polynesian'), the Malayan, and the Malagasy (or 'Tagalan')." "

"A Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya." By N. B. Dennys. (London and China Telegraph Office, 1894.) pp. 423. 8vo. "The volume contains about three thousand headings. The Straits Settlements and protected native states are treated of at considerable length, while notices, more or less brief, are given of every town, village, &c., appearing in published maps, as also of many others hitherto undescribed. The various aboriginal tribes, the products of the jungle, native manners and customs, the

¹ Khangalov: "Predaniya i poryeriya Unginskikh Buryat. Zap. V. S. O. I. R. G. O. P.," v. 2, 24–25.



Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia-(Continued)

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 24 (1895), pp. 126-158

Published by: [Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2842214>

Accessed: 21/02/2013 02:15

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND NEW BOOKS.

Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia—(continued).

The chief rites and sacrifices performed by Buryat wizards.—Thanks to the labours of several local investigators, we are able to make a review of the chief rites and sacrifices performed by Buryat shamans, paying special attention to those ceremonies which are connected with the healing of the sick. First of all we must refer to the *sasalga*, i.e. sprinkling, and the *kkhyryk*. The *sasalga* takes place when the disease is not dangerous, and when there is no evil spirit in the patient; it is performed in the *yurta*. At the time appointed by the shaman, after his arrival, a small fire is kindled on the hearth. The assembled Buryats all sit down round the fire, leaving the place of honour to the shaman and the patient. Wine (i.e., *vodka*), tea, sour-cream, and other delicacies are brought into the hut, and placed in small Chinese cups on a bench, covered with a clean cloth, near the front pillar of the *yurta*. On the bench they lay one or two silver coins. The shaman places himself facing the opening in the ceiling of the *yurta*, turns up the left sleeve of his fur-coat or dressing gown, and taking in his left hand a small whip with a thong, and a small copper bell, he begins with his right hand to sprinkle wine from a Chinese cup into the hole in the ceiling, meantime ringing the bell, and asking the deity to send health to the sick man. After repeating this several times, the shaman lays down the whip and bell, sits by the fire, drinks wine, and gives some of it to the patient; then, having sipped some tea and sour-cream (*smetana*), he makes the patient drink these also. The ceremony concludes by one of the older men taking from the shaman wine, tea, and sour-cream, and giving them to the other Buryats; when the wine is all drunk, the ceremony of sprinkling is considered to be at an end, and all go home.

Kkhyryk takes place when the illness is of a severe kind. As we have already said, the Buryats believe that evil spirits in their wrath send down disease. In order to cure it, it is necessary to know which evil spirit has done it, and why, also what sacrifice will appease the spirit. The shaman finds out all this by means of a burnt shoulder blade. For the *kkhyryk*, a bonfire is kindled in the open air, outside the *yurta*. If the sick man is able to walk, they take him out and seat him by the fire. They bring a sheep, some wine, brewed tea, &c. When all is ready, and a sufficient number of Buryats are assembled, the shaman comes; he takes in his right hand a small wooden Chinese cup, ladles out some wine in

it, and, turning to the fire, pronounces various exorcisms in the Buryat tongue. While uttering these he sways from side to side, now approaching the fire, now retreating from it. Frequently he takes himself by the head, and sprinkling wine, from the cup, in the fire, mentions the name of the patient. The longer the *kkhyryk* lasts, the greater becomes his inspiration; the expression of his face changes, his limbs shake, his voice becomes wild and terrible, and is heard for a long way round. Finally he runs up to the fire, and, as if driving somebody out of it, shakes his head, and with a fearful inhuman shriek falls full length backwards, but the Buryats standing behind do not let him fall on the ground. When the shaman has partly recovered consciousness, he takes a little sour-cream and anoints the lamb. The Buryats kill the animal, cut it up, and cook it in a kettle. While it is being boiled, the shaman sits on the ground, drinks wine, and gives drink to the patient; the remainder is handed to some respectable old man, who treats the spectators to it. When the mutton is ready, the shaman throws a few pieces in the fire, eats of it himself, gives a piece to the patient, and the rest to the crowd. At the end of the feast, the bones of the sacrificed sheep are burnt, the shaman receives from the patient the skin and some money, and goes home.¹

Mr. Khangalov has collected descriptions of various shamanist rites and sacrifices of a more special character; here we shall only refer to those connected with the healing of the sick. Among the Balagansk Buryats the *Tarim* ceremony has existed since ancient times. It is employed against internal diseases or fractures of any part of the body, but rarely for sores. There are but few shamans who can perform this ceremony, as boiling water is used in it, and an unskilful operator might scald both the patient and himself. *Tarim* is of three kinds: *Ukhan-tarim*, *Gal-tarim*, and *Ekhn-tarim*, the last consisting of a union of the two others. "When one witnesses an *Ekhn-tarim*," says Mr. Khangalov, "one's hair stands on end, and one's flesh creeps. The danger of the patient and the shaman alike is so apparent that it seems as if they must both be scalded to death, but, somehow or other, the whole thing is safely accomplished." An accident rarely happens, and then only in the case of young and inexperienced shamans; unless he is acquainted with the shaman, a Buryat will not consent to *ukhan-tarim* or *ekhn-tarim*. *Dole*, a ceremony performed by the Buryats when a man is seriously ill, is ordered by the shaman, and consists in offering for the soul of the patient some domestic animal. The shaman selects the sacrifice. If the *zayan* is satisfied with the offering he liberates the soul, and the sick man recovers.²

The religious ceremony of *Khushulkha* is performed over those who are suffering from cough or sores. The shaman sucks the diseased part until blood and matter issue; if the patient has a cough, he sucks the breast, and then spits. The treatment is continued until the shaman thinks the disease has all been extracted.

¹ Sidorov: "Irk. Ep. Vved.," 1873g, 466-468.

² Khangalov: "Novye materialy o shamanstve u Buryat," 97-114.

There is also a process called *Khunkhe-khurulkha*. It is intimately connected with the belief of the Balagansk Buryats that a man's soul may be frightened out of his body, and flee away. The soul wanders round the spot where it left the body. Small children are especially liable to have their souls frightened away, and the signs of this misfortune are believed to be at once evident. The child becomes ill, raves in its sleep, cries out, remains in bed, weeps, and becomes pale and sleepy. If many days are allowed to pass after the soul's flight, it becomes wild and alien to the body, and flees far. Grown up people who have lost their souls do not notice the fact at first, and gradually become sick. The kinsfolk apply to the shaman, and learn that the patient has no soul in his body. Then they themselves try to bring back the soul. The patient makes a *khurulkha*, i.e., he summons his soul. If no remedies suffice, the shaman is called in. After sprinkling and prayers, he organises a *khunkhe-khurulkha*. In a pail he places an arrow and something the patient is fond of, e.g., beef, or *salamat*. After this they set out for the place where the soul separated from the body, and ask the soul to come and eat its favourite food and return to the body. When the soul enters the body, the man who had lost it feels a shiver down his back, and is sure to weep; his soul weeps for joy at finding its body. Sometimes the soul is so stubborn that the ceremony has to be repeated three times.

Care for their cattle is one of the leading traits of the Buryat character, and if a householder notices that there is anything wrong with his stock, or if the shaman tells him that they have undergone some change, the religious ceremony of *shurge-shukhe* is performed over the animals. The shaman goes to the courtyard where all the cattle are enclosed, and takes with him a bundle of resinous faggots, and roasted flour. At the closed gates they perform the *shurge-shukhe*, i.e., they bind to the door fragments of a tree which has been struck by lightning. Then they set fire to a faggot, open the door, and drive the cattle out of the yard. While the beasts are passing out, the shaman throws parched flour through the fire upon them. The flour takes fire and burns. When all the cattle have passed out, the remainder of the flour is thrown down in the yard. At the end of the ceremony, the shaman, the people of the house, and other Buryats, go home.¹

Organisation and classification of the shamanist profession.—Manifold are the ceremonies and sacrifices by the help of which the shamans of all the Siberian tribes endeavour to produce the desired effect on the world of mysterious, malevolent spirits surrounding and persecuting the alarmed imagination of the half savage natives. Upon the science of these gloomy wizards, and upon their good will, the life and well-being of everybody depend. The shamans play a prominent part in their tribes, and enjoy enormous influence.

It is difficult to say whether the shamans of Siberia form an organised and peculiar class or not. From such data as we possess,

¹ Khangalov: "Novye materialy," 135-138.

it would seem rather that there is no such separate class of society forming a kind of ecclesiastical caste. Nor are there any hierarchical divisions, although there are differences in the positions of shamans, founded upon their power and their relations with spirits and gods of various kinds. The Yakut shamans are divided into three categories, according to their power. The division into white and black, *i.e.*, shamans dealing exclusively with good or bad deities, does not exist among the Yakuts.¹ According to the power of their *emekhets*, the Yakut shamans are divided into lowest, middle and great. The "lowest" are not properly speaking shamans at all, but various hysterical, half-witted, idiotic and in general eccentric people. They can explain dreams, tell fortunes, cure slight ailments, but they do not perform the great shamanist functions, because they have no guardian spirit. The "middle" shamans have magic power in a certain degree, according to the power of their *emekhets*. The "great" are distinguished by exceptional power; the lord of darkness himself gives ear to their summons. There can only be four such shamans at any given time in all the Yakut land, one for each of the four original Yakut settlements. In each settlement there are particular families endowed with magic power. In such a family a great shaman appears from time to time. In the Namsk settlement, such a great shaman died recently; he was an old man named Fedor, nicknamed "Mychylla," of the Khatinarinsk community of the Arching family. The Yakuts used to tell that Mychylla in his youth was handsome, but in his old age he was as ugly as his protector the devil. The Yakuts narrated wonderful stories about his power.² Gmelin mentions another distinction; he says that the older a Yakut shaman is, the greater is the number of names of gods that he knows, and consequently the greater is his power.³

Besides shamans, the Yakuts have shamankas. According to Mr. Soloviev, the shamankas are inferior to the shamans; they are only called in when there is no male necromancer in the neighbourhood. They are most frequently employed to foretell the future, or to find lost or stolen things. It is only in the cure of mental diseases that shamankas are preferred to their male colleagues.⁴ But there are exceptions to this general rule. Gmelin saw among the Yakuts a shamanka, twenty years of age, who was much respected even by old shamans.⁵

Among the Tunguses of the Trans-Baikal region, both men and women, married and single, may be shamans.⁶ Gmelin met among the Tunguses a shamanka who was thought superior to male practitioners.⁷ Among the Samoyeds of the Turukhansk district, different shamans use different methods, and know various words

¹ Pripuzov, 64.

² S—kii: "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty." "Sibirskii Sbornik," 133-134.

³ Gmelin, ii, 358.

⁴ Soloviev, Th.: "Ostatki yazychestva u Yakutov." Sbornik gaz. Sibir, i, 414.

⁵ Gmelin, ii, 493-496.

⁶ Sibirskii Vvestnik, 1822*g*, ch. 19, 39.

⁷ Gmelin, ii, 82-84.

for invocations; women also shamanize among them.¹ Among the Ostyaks, so near akin to the Samoyeds, shamans and shamankas are equally irritable and impressionable.² The Buryats distinguish between shamans belonging to a family in which the gift is hereditary, and those who do not number among their kin any such favourite of the gods. The former may offer sacrifices without consecration, and may appease the spirits; those of the second sort would expose themselves to the vengeance of the spirits if they attempted to do this. There are also among them real shamans, *i.e.*, those who are called to the service by the spirits, and spurious shamans, who assume the vocation without such supernatural sanction. But the chief division of the Buryat shamans is founded on this connection with good or evil spirits. The white shamans serve the former, the black shamans deal with the latter. There is a standing feud of a savage character between them. The Buryats tell how the whites and blacks fight, throwing axes at each other from a distance of a hundred versts and more. The struggle generally ends with the death of one of the combatants; the victor is he who has the most numerous and most famous shaman ancestors.³ The white shaman, the servant of the good gods, the western *tengris*, the western *khats*, is believed by the Buryats to be a good intercessor for mankind; he performs ceremonies and utters invocations only to protecting deities who give wealth and happiness to men, he is therefore much honoured by the people. In the Balagansk department, in the second Olzoev family, there was a famous white shaman named Barlak. He wore a white silk garment, and rode a white horse. At the place where he was cremated there are still iron memorials of him on the trees, and his descendants offer sacrifices there to their mighty ancestor. The black shaman, as the servant of wicked spirits, brings only evil, disease and death. Some of the black shamans can slay men by eating up their souls, or giving them to evil spirits. They only offer sacrifice to the evil spirits—the eastern *tengris*, eastern *khats*, &c. Among the black shamans, the Obosoisk and Torsoisk are especially famous. The Buryats are not particularly fond of black shamans and shamankas, but are very much afraid of them, lest in their wrath they should do some harm, or kill a man with the aid of evil spirits and their black shaman ancestors. Sometimes the hatred for these necromancers reaches such a pitch that a conspiracy is entered into to murder them. There was once a black shamanka in the village of Bazhir, in the department of Balagansk. Her neighbours wished to get rid of her, and hired two black shamans, who, with the aid of evil spirits and their shaman ancestors, were to eat up this hateful woman. They were promised forty head of cattle for their trouble. According to tradition, these two black shamans, Enkher and Birtakshin, could not get the better of the shamanka, and therefore applied for help to the black shaman Khagla. The three of them

¹ Tretyakov, 213.

² Velyavskii: "Poyezdka k Ledovitomu moryu," 114.

³ Shashkov, 82.

with great difficulty at last succeeded in eating up the witch, and were rewarded with the forty head of cattle. The shamanka died, and her neighbours buried her in the following manner. The coffin was made of aspen, and the shamanka was put in it face downwards. Then a deep trench was dug, the coffin was lowered into it, the deceased was nailed to the ground with aspen stakes, aspens were squeezed down upon her, and then the grave was filled up with earth. The Buryats look upon the aspen tree as unclean, and for this reason the shamans do not use it as fuel, lest they be defiled. The aspen coffin signified that the shamanka had become unclean, her position, face downwards, and her impalement with aspen stakes prevented her from doing any hurt to mankind.¹ There are also among the Buryats a few shamans who serve both good and evil spirits.²

Such are the chief classes of shamans among the various tribes inhabiting Siberia. The distinctions arise from the very essence of shamanism, but they have nowhere acquired a strictly defined form or developed into a hierarchical system.

Position of the shamans among their own people.—These people, remarkable for their mysterious powers, are intimately connected with those features of native Siberian life, which comprise the most important interests of tribes in a low state of development. In the simple life of the races inhabiting the north of Asia, the shaman must play a prominent part. In fact, the shaman, with but few exceptions, occupies a position of special importance among his fellow countrymen. Only among the Chukchis, according to Litke, are shamans not respected, and their functions are limited to healing diseases and performing tricks.³ The Yakuts have implicit faith in their wizards,⁴ whose mysterious performances, taking place amid the most disturbing surroundings, strike terror into those semi-savage people,⁵ and it is no wonder that they are afraid of shamans and shamankas.⁶ But fear predominates over feelings of respect, and the Yakuts are convinced that their shamans, possessed by spirits, do not die by the will of the gods, and are unworthy of having the angel of death sent to them. They kill one another, by sending their demons for the purpose.⁷

The Tunguses, neighbours of the Yakuts, despite the extending influence of Christianity, now, as in the days of Wrangel,⁸ exhibit great confidence in their shamans, and the latter are present at the burial of Christian Tunguses.⁹ The Ostyaks show a very great deal of respect to their medicine-men and soothsayers.¹⁰ In the

¹ Khangalov : "Novye materialy," 85–86.

² Agapitov i Khangalov, 46.

³ Erman, 1843, H. 3, 459.

⁴ Shchukin : "Yakuty, Zb. M. Vn. Dyel. 1854," 7, 21.

⁵ Klark : "Vilyuisk i ego okrug." Zapiski Sib. Otd. I. R. G. O., 1864, kn. vii. 139.

⁶ Soloviev : "Ostatki yazychestva u Yakutov." Sbornik gaz. Sibir. 1876g, t. i, 414–415.

⁷ Pripuzov, 65.

⁸ Wrangel, "Reise," ii, 27.

⁹ Mordvinov : "Inorodtsy obitayushchie v Turukhanskom krae." Vyestn. I. R. G. O., 1860, No. 2, 36.

¹⁰ Velyavskii, 113.

south of Siberia, the Buryats give honour to their shamans,¹ the white shamans are universally esteemed and loved, the black shamans and shamankas are disliked but greatly feared.² But, according to some authorities, a medicine man loses his prestige in case of the death of a patient he has treated.³

The respect and fear inspired by the shamans must necessarily express themselves in a purely external form: honours are paid to them, they fulfil the most important duties, and receive from their timorous fellow-countrymen great material advantages corresponding to the pretended benefits they bring. At Yakut festivals the shamans occupy the highest position; on such an occasion, even a prince kneels before an *oyun* and receives from his hand a cup of *kumys*.⁴ In spite of this the Yakut shamans have no special privileges in everyday life, and are in no way distinguished from their fellows; they have a family, a *yrta*, cattle, they mow hay, and do other work.⁵ They make, by their professional functions, sums varying from one to five and twenty roubles. When they are unsuccessful they are deprived of their fee. Besides money, the *oyun* gets a share of the sacrificed flesh, and takes it home with him.⁶ Gmelin says that one shaman was the *zaisan* (head man) of his kin.⁷

In the Turukhansk country, among the Samoyeds, the famous shaman Tynta was *starosta* of the local board, and shaman and princeling by inheritance.⁸ Adrianov met among the Altai Tatars *kams* who held the office of *starosta*, e.g., Stepan, on the river Kandom, Ivan, *bashlyk* of Shelkansk, on the river Lebed,⁹ and Helmersen, during his travels on Teletsk Lake, was accompanied by the *zaisan* of the Kergeisk canton, who had been a famous *kam* among the Teleuts.¹⁰ Buryat shamans have a certain distinctive headdress and *coiffure*: among the Alarsk Buryats they wear a silk tuft on the hat; there is a tradition that shamans formerly wore plaits, these were replaced by *queues*, then they took to wearing the hair long on the crown of the head; at present their hair is of equal length all over.¹¹ Thus in every part of Siberia the shamans have occupied an exceptional position, and have succeeded in acquiring considerable apparent influence, though it frequently happens that their vices and ignorance, or their lack of desire to profit by their advantages, have reduced some of them to an isolated, poverty-stricken condition; e.g., a certain Yakut *oyun* spent the last years of his life, after his wife's death, in loneliness, abandoned by all, excepting a decrepit old witch dog.¹²

Belief in the supernatural power of the shamans.—The Siberian necromancers themselves, on the one hand, in order to maintain

¹ Gmelin, ii, 183.

² Khangelov: "Novye materialy," 84–85.

³ Khangelov: "Predaniya i povyeriya Unginskikh Buryat," 24.

⁴ Gmelin, ii, 360–363, 505.

⁵ Shchukin, "Yakuty," 21.

⁶ "Poyezdka v Yakutsk," Izd. N. Shch., 202. V. S.—kii: "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," 130.

⁷ Gmelin, ii, 82.

⁸ Tretyakov, 113.

⁹ Adrianov: "Puteshestvie na Altai i za Sayany," 184, 205.

¹⁰ Helmersen, 57.

¹¹ Potanin, iv, 56.

¹² V. S.—kii, 134.

their influence, and their credulous fellow-countrymen, on the other hand, employ various means, and invent special beliefs, in order to surround the shamanist profession with a halo of mystery and sanctity, to attribute to its adepts supernatural power.

The shamanist ceremonies of consecration and *kamlanie*, described above, sufficiently exalt these spirit-possessed necromancers; various beliefs connected with the person of the shaman contribute to magnify their sway over the minds of the natives. The Yakuts are convinced that everyone of their *oyuns*, however weak and insignificant, has his *emekhet*, or guardian spirit, and his bestial image, *ie-kyla*, sent down from above; this incarnation of the shaman in the form of a beast is carefully concealed from all. "Nobody can find my *ie-kyla*, it lies hidden far away in the stony mountains of Edzhigansk," said the famous shaman Tyusypyt. Only once a year, when the last snows melt and the earth becomes black, do the *ie-kylas* appear among the dwellings of men. The incarnate souls of shamans in animal form are visible only to the eyes of shamans, but they wander everywhere, unseen by all others. The strong sweep along with noise and roaring, the weak steal about quietly and furtively. Often do they fight, and then the shaman, whose *ie-kyla* is beaten, falls ill or dies. Sometimes shamans of the first-class engage in a struggle, they lie locked in deadly embrace for months, and even years, powerless to overcome each other. The weakest and most cowardly shamans are those of the canine variety; they are wretched in comparison with those who have a wolf or a bear as their animal form: the dog gives his human double no peace, but gnaws his heart and tears his body. The most powerful wizards are those whose *ie-kyla* is a stallion, an elk, a black bear, an eagle or the huge bull boar. The last two are called "devil champions and warriors," and confer great honour upon their possessors.

The *emekhet*, or special spirit, generally a dead shaman, occasionally a secondary deity, always stays near the man it protects. It comes at his call, helps him, defends him, and gives him advice. "A shaman sees and hears only by means of his *emekhet*," declared the Yakut *ayun* Tyusypyt, "I can see and hear over three settlements, but there are some who can see and hear much farther," he added. The Tunguz shamans tell that they only get their power by union with demons. Besides the chief spirit, or devil, to use Gmelin's terminology, the wizard has a host of secondary spirits in his service; he that has most is most powerful. In one finger of the highest devil there is more power than in a multitude of lesser spirits.¹

Among the Yurats and Ostyaks, the medicine men treat their spirits without ceremony, and even buy and sell them. When the seller has received the price agreed upon, he plaits a few small braids of hair on his head, and appoints a time when the spirits are to go to the purchaser. The proof of the fulfilment of the contract is that the spirits begin to torment their new possessor; if they do

¹ Gmelin, ii, 45-46.

not, it is a sign that the shaman who has purchased them does not suit them.¹ In the same region, that of Turukhinsk, the Samoyeds believe that every shaman has his assistant spirit in the form of a boar. This boar is somewhat like a reindeer, and its lord leads it by a magic belt, and gives it various orders. If the spirit finds the task impossible or dangerous it declines to execute it. On the death of the boar the shaman himself dies; hence the tale of the combat between hostile wizards, who first send their spirits to fight. When the shaman lacks confidence in the power of his familiar he himself goes to fight. The battles of wizards take place by night on high mountain ranges; during these cruel contests huge stones fly from the crags and roll into the abyss. Besides their spirits, the Samoyed shamans also possess magic weapons with which they slay their enemies from a distance. It is by the blow of such an arrow, shot by another shaman, that a sudden fit of illness is explained.²

Both among the Teleuts of the Altai and the Buryats, there are tales about the extraordinary power of *kams* and shamans. The first *kam* was a woman. Bogdokhan, in order to test the reality of her power, commanded that an arrow should be shot at her; the woman was not killed, but went on *kaming* more energetically than ever. The Teleuts say that this woman had a child, from whom succeeding *kams* descended. The Buryats of the department of Alarsk have a tradition that the shaman Makhunai was so powerful that when he sat in a sledge it ran without horses. At one time the chief authority of Irkutsk summoned all the shamans, and ordered them to prove the truth of their faith. Makhunai said he was incombustible. He was placed with his tambourine on a stone, and buried under seventy cart-loads of straw, which were then set on fire. When the straw was burnt up the famous shaman emerged unhurt, shaking the ashes from himself. Henceforth the authorities of Irkutsk have allowed the shamans to carry on their profession.³

Funeral of a Buryat shaman.—The funerals of shamans, and their life in the other world, show clearly that these elect personages, favoured by the gods, must not be classed with other mortals. The Buryat wizard foretells his own death, declares what disease he will die of, and why the gods have punished him thus. After his death, old men of the same village wash the corpse with water consecrated by the addition of juniper and thyme, then they put on a dressing gown, and over that a coat, sometimes both made of silk. Above the coat is placed the *orgoi*, a kind of dressing gown, blue for a black shaman and white for a white one. This sacred garment can only be made by men, women dare not touch it. By the corpse they lay the signs of his profession. All this time the nine "sons of the shaman," young Buryats more than twenty-five years of age, selected from among those who are experienced and acquainted with the rites, sing a funeral song; in this song, which is improvised by the precentor, all the life of the deceased is

¹ Tretyakov, 223-224.

² Tretyakov, 212.

³ Potanin, iv, 288-286.

described, and his virtues are eulogized. The funeral is attended by other shamans, and by the dead man's *naizhis*, i.e., spiritual children, whom he has healed, and to whom he has given amulets. All the amulets are restored to the dead shaman. The *naizhis* also bring various eatables for consumption at the funeral.

The assembled shamans declare the will of the deceased as regards his place of burial, and point out the horse which must be prepared for him. During the three days that the corpse remains in the village it is fumigated with *ledum*, thyme, and fir-bark, while the old men take it in turns to ring the bells on the horse-sticks and beat the tambourine. On the third day an entertainment is got ready, the eatables are packed in bags, and carried to the place where the shaman is cremated.

The horse on which the corpse is carried is ornamented, and caparisoned with a four-cornered piece of blue or white cloth, according to the class the deceased belonged to. At the edges this cloth or *orgoi* is hung with little bells. The horse-cloth is sewed by the same old men who make the funeral *orgoi*.

After three days, the dead man is taken out of his *yurta* and placed upon the horse, an old man sitting behind the corpse; another old man leads the horse. Meantime the nine sons sing, while the old men and the shamans ring little bells and beat the tambourine. The procession moves solemnly along, with halts and various ceremonies.

When the funeral train reaches the grove where the burial is to take place, the corpse is lifted from the horse and seated on a felt carpet, so that it be not defiled by contact with the ground. The "sons" walk round the corpse singing. On the way, an arrow is shot in the direction of the house, and when the return takes place the arrow is picked up and hidden. On a pile of fir logs they lay the saddle-cloth, the horse's *orgoi*, then the dead man with his bridle, his bow and quiver with eight arrows by his head, and his saddle under his head; the pile is then set on fire. The arrows are put there so that the dead shaman may defend himself against hostile men and evil spirits.

On the neighbouring trees they hang the signs of the shaman's profession, and various other objects. At the top of one tree they fix a copper teapot or ladle full of wine, on another a bottle of wine; the shamanist emblems are put in a special wooden box about a foot long, which is fastened by iron bands to the upper part of a tree. Skins of beasts are fastened to the nearest birches, either singly or in groups. After the *trizna* (funeral feast) and the sacrifice of the horse on which the corpse was carried, the mourners depart without looking round, for fear the shaman might carry off to the sky with him anyone who was guilty of curiosity.

For three days the nine sons of the shaman stay in the *yurta* of the deceased, and chant funeral songs as they walk round the table, on which a candle is kept burning all the time. At the end of three days the *naizhis*, kinsfolk, and shamans of the same settlement again assemble, the *naizhis* bringing provisions. They ride to the

burial place and collect the shaman's bones, beginning with the skull, and put them in a blue or white bag, according to the character of the deceased's functions. The bag containing the bones is deposited in a box-shaped hole hewn out in the trunk of a big fir, and the aperture is so skilfully closed up again that it is impossible to find the resting place of the shaman. This tree is called the shaman's fir, and is looked upon as his dwelling place. Whoever cuts down such a fir will perish with all his household. During the ceremony they decide, by various signs, what sort of power the shaman will have, and the shamans present offer prayers to the gods and to the dead man, who is also honoured as a deity: the sons sing songs and make a feast; the remnants of the meat are burnt on camp fires. With this ceremony the funeral of the shaman ends.

In districts inhabited by Buryats in a treeless region, especially on hills, there are often isolated clumps of trees visible from afar. These shamanist groves, the burial places of their medicine men and soothsayers, are called by the people *aikha*, i.e., they are declared to be holy and inviolable; it is forbidden to cut down a tree of them. Any violation of the sacredness of the place is severely punished by the dead shamans, and sometimes brings death on the guilty person. Every tribe, and sometimes even an *ulus* (or village settlement) has its shamanist grove.¹

Worship of bokholdois.—The cult of dead shamans and shamankas occupies an important place in Buryat beliefs. The dead magicians become *bokholdois*, sacrifices are offered to them, they are prayed to for protection against the clutches of other *bokholdois* to whose attacks men are exposed. *Bokholdois* differ in power according to the tribe or *utkha* they belong to. The dead shaman *bokholdoi* protects his own tribesmen and faithfully remembers his kin.²

Shamanist tricks.—The travellers of the eighteenth century, Gmelin, Pallas, &c., paid particular attention to those performances of the shamans which are of the nature of conjuring tricks, and serve as a manifest proof of the delirious state into which a man passes when he is possessed by a deity. In these tricks it is difficult to distinguish abnormal physiological conditions and self-delusion from conscious simulation and charlatanry.

According to Krasheninnikov, the Koryak shamans thrust knives into their stomachs, and drink their own blood, but these tricks are badly done and are evident impostures. Gmelin also declares that when he asked an old Tungus shaman to perform one of his usual tricks, the shaman refused to pierce himself with a dart in the presence of the sceptical German, and acknowledged the fraud.³ The severe examination conducted by this traveller frightened a young Yakut witch who enjoyed universal credit, and forced her to reveal the tricks she used in pretending to wound

¹ Agapitov i Khangelov, 53–55.

² Batarov: "Buryatskiya povyeriya o bokholdoyakh i Anakhayakh." Zap. V. S. O. I. R. G. O. po etnografii, ii, vyp. 2, 10.

³ Krasheninnikov, ii, 158–159.

herself with a knife; she even slightly wounded herself in reality.¹ Shchukin describes the primitive means employed by the Yakut magicians to convince their uncritical fellow-countrymen of their power. They use a piece of gut filled with blood, and cut it with a knife so that the blood flows out; they put on the stomach several layers of birch bark, and then walk about with a knife thrust into this up to the handle.² The ordinary Yakut shamans swallow sticks, eat hot coals and glass, spit out of their mouths a piece of money which has disappeared from their hands in the sight of the spectators; but some of these spirit-possessed people are said, by the Yakuts, to do still more wonderful things. A good shaman will stab himself in three places: the crown of the head, the liver, and the stomach. Sometimes the end of the blade passes through and is seen at the back, and then the "sun," *i.e.*, the iron circle that hangs on the wizard's back, disappears, and is spat out with the knife. Some shamans cut off their heads, laid them on the shelf, and danced about the *yurta* without them. Of one powerful shaman it is said that he had a struggle with a Russian wizard. The Russian, during a *kamlanie* performed by the soothsayer Dzherakhin, cast a charm on his antagonist to prevent him getting up from his seat on the ground. Dzherakhin traced a circle round himself with his drum-stick, and, raising himself from the ground, with the circle, began to leap and kick; his foot struck his Russian enemy so violently that it threw him up against the ceiling. It was only at the earnest entreaties of the defeated Russian that the Yakut wizard let him go. The anonymous author from whom we have borrowed the above facts says that, in his experience, though the Yakuts marvel at such tricks and are glad to see them, yet they do not attach much importance to them; a true shaman is recognised by very different signs. Thus in the Kolymsk district an old shamanka who could do no tricks was much esteemed, while a clever young wizard who could perform the most complicated shamanist miracles was of no repute.³ The Samoyeds of Tomsk, in addition to the ordinary trick of a shaman allowing himself to be shot in the head with a bullet, a performance which sometimes leads to loss of life, take part in mysterious magic performances, reminding one of spiritist séances. The wizard orders the spectators to bind him hand and foot, and close the shutters; he then summons his familiar spirits. In the dark *yurta* all sorts of voices and sounds are heard. When the noise is at an end, the door of the hut opens, and the shaman enters from the yard, with his feet free.⁴

In a certain Buryat song, the belief that a man in a state of ecstasy, and endowed with miraculous power, can without injury endure torture and wounds, is expressed very clearly. In former times, in Irkutsk, they used to catch young people whose bodies had therapeutic virtue. A Buryat was caught and crucified, and

¹ Gmelin, ii, 493-496.

² "Повесть в Якутск," 202.

³ V. S.—kii. "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," 134-135.

⁴ Castren, 297-298.

pieces of his flesh were cut off with razors and clasp knives for medicinal purposes. The lacerated Buryat felt no pain, and sang.¹ The Buryat shamans wash in fire, walk over a fire bare-footed,² and, during a ceremony at the healing of a sick person, perform the following dangerous trick: a red hot ploughshare and axe are taken out of the fire, the medicine man stands with one foot on the hearthstone, and with the other foot rubs the red hot instruments, and then applies this foot several times to the diseased part.³

Belief of the shamans in their vocation.—There is no doubt that many of the tricks of the shamans may be classed with those of our conjurers, but all their performances cannot be thus explained. The fact that the wizards make use of purely external means, closely connected with various artifices intended to deceive the spectators, does not exclude the possibility of a profound conviction on the part of the shamans that they are chosen for the service of the spirits, have intercourse with them, and possess a mysterious power over the forces of nature. Of course, the belief in their mission must be weakened as foreign influences become more predominant in Siberia. We have already seen how the natives themselves acknowledge that the shamans of former years were stronger, and shamanism naturally deteriorates every year, and some of its representatives become mere charlatans.

The famous Yakut shaman, Tyusypyt, *i.e.*, he who fell from the sky, at the age of twenty became very ill; he began to see and hear things hidden from other men. For nine years he concealed his gift from all, and strove against the tendency, fearing that he would not be believed, and would be laughed at. Tyusypyt went so far as to endanger his life by this self-restraint, and only got relief when he began to *kam*, and now he falls sick if he allows much time to pass without shamanizing. This Yakut *ayun* is passionately devoted to his profession, and has often suffered on this account; his dress and tambourine were burnt, his hair was cropped, he was forced to go to church and make the usual prostrations; he was made to fast. "This is not a trifle to us; our lords (the spirits) are angry with us every time, and it fares ill with us afterwards, but we cannot give it up, we cannot help shamanizing!" was the complaint made to a Russian enquirer. An old blind Yakut, who had formerly been a shaman, affirmed that when he became convinced of the sinfulness of *kamlanie*, and gave up the profession, the spirits were angry, and destroyed his sight. In the village of Bayagantaisk there lives a much esteemed young *ayun*; the Yakuts say that when he shamanizes "his eyes jump out on to his forehead." He is well off, cares nothing for the profits of shamanism, and took an oath to give it up, but every time he met with a "difficult case" he broke his vow.⁴

¹ Затопляев: "Nyekotoryya povyeriya Alarskikh Buryat." Zap. V. S. O. I. R. G. O., ii, v. 2, 1. ² Gmelin, iii, 72.

³ Khingalov: "Novye materialy o shamanstve u Buryat," 111.

* V. S.—kii, 128–129.

Tretyakov describes the physical and mental condition of a soothsayer among the Tunguses of the Turukhansk country. "Gifted with a sensitive nature, he had an ardent imagination, a strong belief in the spirits and in his mysterious intercourse with them; his philosophy was of an exclusive character. Yielding himself up to the creations of his imagination, he became unquiet, timorous, especially at night, when his head was filled with various dreams. As the day appointed for his *kamlanie* approached, he lost his sleep, fell into fits of absence of mind, and looked at one object for hours at a time. Pale, languid, with sharp, piercing eyes, the man produced a strange impression. Nowadays there are few true shamans."¹ The Teleut *kams* are profoundly convinced that their power has been granted from on high. Gmelin says that the devil torments them at night to such an extent that they jump up in their sleep and cry out.² The Altaian *kam* Tumchugat narrated that the devil was wont to appear to him during the *kamlanie* in the form of a dark cloud like a ball. While this cloud was present he was unconscious of everything, and said things he knew nothing about. When a missionary advised him to make the sign of the cross he replied, "If I crossed myself the devil would choke me."³ The Buryat shamans have such a belief in the curative power of their ceremonies that when they are ill they call in their colleagues and have a *kamlanie* performed over themselves, libations of *tarusun* offered to various gods, &c.⁴

Sufficient examples have been given in support of the view that the rise of so complex a phenomenon as shamanism cannot be explained by mere trickery. It is only a profound belief in their vocation that could have created a conviction of the miraculous power of the shamans, and endowed them with that enormous influence which they enjoyed and still enjoy among the Siberian tribes.

Remains of shamanism in European Russia.—The tribes of European Russia have naturally been unable to preserve in all their completeness and purity their former heathen beliefs, and it is only from the surviving fragments of old religious opinions that we can form any conclusions as to the character and signification of almost extinct deities, worships, and performers of heathen rites. From the nature of the materials at our disposal, it is impossible to give a full account of shamanism among those tribes; we are therefore obliged to group our facts under the head of the various nationalities rather than attempt an exhaustive general inquiry.

Samoyed tadibeis.—Two nationalities, inhabiting the extreme north of Europe, near the polar regions, the Samoyeds and the Lopars, occupy the most prominent position among European shamanists. The Samoyed shamans, called *tadibeis*, are mediators between mankind and the *Tudebtzi*, spirits to whom Num has entrusted terrestrial affairs.⁵

Johnson's account of a kamlanie.—Richard Johnson, one of the companions of Stephen Borrow, Chancellor's assistant, who

¹ Tretyakov, 209–210.

² Gmelin, i, 278, 285.

³ Potanin, iv, 76.

⁴ Agapitov i Khangalov, 53.

⁵ Islavin: "Samoyedy," 109.

made an independent journey in 1556 to the mouth of the Obi, gave such a detailed and picturesque account of the *kamlanie* of a Samoyed *tadibei*, seen by him at the mouth of the Pechora, that we think it indispensable to quote this story by an English traveller of the days of Ivan the Terrible. The Samoyeds, subjects of the Russian Emperor, when they intend to migrate to another place, offer a special sacrifice, the eldest of them acting as priest. A wizard, wearing a peculiar headdress, with his face covered, beat with a stick on a great tambourine and sang with wild cries, the Samoyeds present responding loudly. This went on until the priest became apparently delirious. Finally, he fell on his back, and lay there like a corpse. Johnson asked why he lay there, and was told that the deity was then telling the wizard what the Samoyeds were to do, and whither they were to turn their steps. Then the audience cried out thrice "Ogu!" and the priest rose and continued his chant; in the meantime five reindeers were killed, by his orders, and then the shaman began to do tricks. He stabbed himself with a sword, leaving no wound, he made the sword red hot and thrust it through his body so that the point protruded at the back, and Johnson was able to feel it with his finger. Then the Samoyeds boiled water in a kettle, set up in the *chyum* (hut) a rectangular seat on which they placed the priest, sitting cross-legged, like a tailor, and took the kettle of boiling water over to him. After these preliminaries, the wizard firmly tied round his neck a rope of reindeer skin four feet long, and gave the ends of it to two men who stood at the sides of the seat. When they had covered the shaman with a long garment, the Samoyeds who held the ends of the rope began to pull it in opposite directions, and the English traveller heard the noise of some objects falling into the boiling water; the audience told Johnson that these were the head, shoulder and left hand of the wizard, which had been severed by the rope, but they would not allow him to examine these objects, saying that whoever saw what was hidden from human eyes must die. Soon the shouts and songs of the natives began afresh, and the Englishman twice saw somebody's finger thrust through the garment that covered the shaman; the Samoyeds said that this was not the wizard's finger, for he was already dead, but some unknown animal. Johnson could not find any hole in the garment, though he examined it carefully. The performance concluded with the appearance of the wizard, quite unhurt, who went over to the fire and informed the Englishman that nobody could find out the secrets revealed by the deity during his fit of unconsciousness.²

Conjuring by a Samoyed shaman.—This ancient description, given by an eye-witness, may be compared with Castren's account of a shaman's intercourse with a *tadebtzi*. A Samoyed is seeking a lost reindeer, and the wizard enters into communication with a spirit. He begins as follows:

¹ Adelung: "Obozryenie puteshestvennikov po Rossii," i, 135, 136.

² Certain notes imperfectly written by Richard Johnson, "Hakluyt's Collection." A new ed., 1809, vol. i, 317-318.

“Come, come,
Spirits of magic,
If ye come not,
I shall go to you.
Awake, awake,
Spirits of magic,
I am come to you,
Arise from sleep.”

To this the *tadebtzi* replies :

“Say for what
Business thou hastenest hither ;
Why dost thou come
To disturb our rest ? ”

Then the *tadibei* explains his request :

“There came to me
Not long ago a *nenetz* (Samoyed) ;
This man
Persecutes me ;
His reindeer has run away,
For this cause
Behold I am come to you.”¹

A simple, artless melody, somewhat monotonous in sound, appeals to the hearts of the unsophisticated Samoyeds, and helps to make them receive submissively the mysterious decisions communicated to them by the expounder of the will of those spirits that stand between mankind and the supreme deity, Num.

Dress and implements of the tadibeis.—During his performances, the Samoyed wizard dons a special dress, and makes use of certain magic instruments. The *penzer*, or tambourine of reindeer skin, is always indispensable. The *tadibei* makes his own tambourine, according to certain rules ; he kills a perfectly healthy young male reindeer, prepares its skin in such a way that no veins are left, and dries it over the fire. During all these processes the shaman's *inka* (*i.e.*, wife), as an unclean thing, must keep out of the way.² The *penzer* is adorned with copper rings and tin plates ; it is round, and is made of various sizes. The biggest tambourine that Castren saw was a cubit and a quarter in diameter and an eighth of a cubit in height. On it is stretched a thin transparent reindeer skin. The mighty sounds of the magic tambourine penetrate into the dark world of spirits, and cause them to submit to the shaman's will. The *tadibei*'s dress consists of a shirt made of chamois leather, and called *samburtsiya*. It is decked with a border of red cloth. All the seams are covered with red cloth, and on the shoulders there are things like shoulder-straps of the same material. The eyes and face are masked with a rag, because the *tadibei* must enter the spirit world by his inward vision and not with his bodily eyes.

The shaman's head is not covered ; only a band of red cloth is twisted round the nape of the neck, and another round the top of the

¹ Castren : “Reiseerinnerungen,” 193–194.

² Islavin : “Samoyedy,” 112–113.

head. These bands serve to hold up the rag over the face. An iron plate is put on the breast.¹ In some places the *tadibei*s wear a hat with a visor, and deck their chamouis shirts with rattles, pieces of cloth of various colours, &c., making great use of the number seven.²

Origin of Samoyed shamans, and their consecration.—It is not every one who can become a *tadibei*, generally the post is hereditary, but even in this case the wizard must be chosen by the spirits. In youth he is marked out by the *tadebtsis*, and is sent to learn his art under an experienced shaman.³

But the study of the methods of the magic art does not seem to be of much importance, and Castren could not find a single Samoyed able to say in what the instruction of these *tadibei* tutors consisted. One Samoyed told the Finnish scholar that on reaching the age of fifteen he was sent to study under a wizard, because there had been many famous shamans among his kin. Two *tadibei*s tied up the pupil's eyes with a handkerchief, gave him a tambourine, and told him to beat it with a drum-stick. At the same time one wizard clapped the novice on the nape of the neck, while the other clapped him on the back. In a short time the young man's eyes were flooded with light, and he saw a multitude of *tadebtsis* dancing on his arms and legs. We ought to add that the *tadibei*s had first excited their disciple's imagination by various wonderful stories about the Samoyed spirit world.⁴

Various phases of the tadibei's professional life.—The Samoyeds use their wizards chiefly as surgeons and diviners. If, for instance, a credulous inhabitant of the *tundra* has lost a reindeer, he applies to the wizard, who sends his subject spirit to follow the missing beast. "Lie not, for if thou liest it will be bad for me," says the Samoyed soothsayer, "my comrades will laugh at me; tell what thou hast seen, concealing nothing, be it good or ill." The *tadebtsi* mentions the place where he has seen the reindeer, and the shaman sets out with the owners for that place. But it often turns out that the reindeer has already run away, or that another *tadibei*, with the help of his familiar spirit, has blotted out the footprints. Before beginning the *kamlanie*, the wizard enquires carefully into the circumstances under which the reindeer was lost, when and where this happened, whether the Samoyed does not suspect somebody of having stolen it, &c. Gradually a definite opinion is formed, and when the *tadibei* falls into the ecstatic fit, it seems to him that the *tadebtsi* expresses this opinion and enables him to solve the question. A profound knowledge of the simple life of their neighbours, the habit of solving obscure questions by a logic of their own, peculiar talents—all these make it possible for a clear headed man to divine, and to satisfy the demands of the credulous savages.

Castren describes in detail the medical processes of the *tadibei*s. When a Samoyed falls sick, however dangerous the disease may be,

¹ Castren, 192-193.

³ Castren, 191. Islavin, 109-110.

² Islavin, 113.

⁴ Castren, 191-192.

nothing is done till the dawn of the next day. During the whole night the shaman takes council with his spirits. If the patient feels a little better in the morning, the wizard may take his tambourine and begin, but if he is no better, it is necessary to wait till the seventh dawn. If by this time no improvement is manifest, the *tadibei* pronounces the patient to be incurable, and does not even try to cure him. When the symptoms are more favourable, the wizard asks the sick man whether he does not know of anybody who might have sent him the disease. A long enquiry takes place, to find out if the patient has fought or quarrelled with anybody, and it is only when the operator has discovered the cause of the illness, asking the *tadebtsi*, if the patient cannot communicate anything, that the *tadibei* decides to begin his treatment. When the infirmity has been sent by the supreme deity, the Samoyed shaman refuses to oppose the divine will, he only combats diseases proceeding from wicked men. He then asks his familiar spirit to help him. The person guilty of the sufferings of the Samoyed who has called in a *tadibei*, himself falls ill. In a song quoted by Castren, the shaman first sends a *tadebtsi* for help to Num. "Do not abandon the sufferer," says he to the spirit, "go up to the deity and ask his aid." The *tadebtsi* does as he is told, but comes back with the answer that Num will not promise his help. Then the *tadibei* asks the spirit himself to give his assistance, but the spirit replies, "How can I help? I am lower than Num, I cannot give any relief." The sorcerer continues to ask the *tadebtsi* to go up again, and persuade Num to grant salvation. The spirit demands that the sorcerer himself should make the journey. The *tadibei* refuses. "I cannot attain to the abode of Num, it is too far for me; if I could approach him myself, I would do it without applying to thee. Since I cannot approach Num, go thou to him." The *tadebtsi* agrees, and says, "I shall go for thy sake, but the deity continually scolds me, and says he will give no promise, &c."¹ In order to test their ability to heal the sick, the *tadibei*s, in addition to a verbal examination, undergo various physical tortures. These latter tests are described in exactly the same way by Richard Johnson and Islavin. If the *tadibei* comes through this ordeal safe and sound, it is taken as a sign that he is possessed by the supreme power, and then his success as a doctor is indubitable.²

The Samoyeds are of opinion that internal diseases are frequently produced by the presence of a worm in the belly. In order to find the spot where the cause of the illness lies hidden, they poke about the body with a sharp pointed knife until they find the diseased place. Then the shaman applies his lips and pretends to call the worm, sucks it out, and, taking it from his mouth, shows it to the patient.³ Lepekhin says that the *tadibei*s take out an external disease with their teeth, while an internal disease, "like a worm having movement," is taken out with the hands, after cutting the body with a knife.⁴

¹ Castren, 194-198.

³ Islavin, 111.

² Islavin, 110.

⁴ Lepekhin, iv, 266.

Apparently the Samoyed shamans are not divided into black and white, as among the Buryats; their familiar spirits are not classed as good and evil, but, according to circumstances, they do sometimes good and sometimes ill.¹ The belief in the shamans and their miraculous power is boundless among the Samoyeds, and their influence is very great. They are as a rule the most intelligent and cunning of the whole race. Both men and women may be *tadibeis*.²

Belief of the tadibeis in their own power.—As regards the belief of the Samoyed shamans in their own power, the opinions of eye-witnesses of their magic differ. Thus, Mr. Maksimov is convinced that in every case the *tadibei* is a cheat, who cleverly abuses the simplicity of his countrymen, and hoaxes them merely to get *vodka*. During a *kamlanie* in presence of the Russian traveller, the soothsayer was slightly in his cups, and Mr. Maksimov saw in his face a roguish smile and a treacherous twitching of the left eye. Castren affirms that the *tadibei* thoroughly believes in the miraculous origin of the soothsayings proceeding from the mouth of a *tadebtsi*, created by his own fancy. A proof of the honesty of the *tadibeis* was their quiet religious tone, and the complete unanimity of all those with whom Castren spoke. He says that the *tadibeis* very often acknowledged that they cannot call their *tadebtsi*, or, that when the spirit answers the summons they cannot get a satisfactory response. This happens even when the *tadibei* would be at no loss to invent some sort of answer. I. I. Maksimov and Castren, notwithstanding their apparent disagreement, are both quite right. If the *tadibeis* were merely cheats, then, in those times when the Samoyed race was subject to no foreign religious influences, we must suppose that the wizards did not share the religious beliefs of their fellow-countrymen, but, in the midst of savages sunk in superstition, were a sort of rationalists, alien to the religious philosophy of the other Samoyeds. Such an explanation cannot be held to be scientific, and Castren correctly analyses their mental condition of the *tadibeis*, when he represents them as deceiving themselves as well as others. When the Samoyed race came into contact with more cultured peoples, professing Christianity, their former, coarse, naive faith was naturally shaken; shamanism degenerated, and the modern *tadibeis*, being men gifted with relatively stronger mental powers, gradually approached the type of cunning cheats described by Mr. Maksimov.

Shamanism among the Lopars.—The Lopars of the present day have hardly preserved any of their former heathen beliefs. Shamanism among them can only be studied in books; in writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find many interesting facts relating to the religious ideas of the Norwegian and Swedish Lopars. Concerning the Russian Lopars we have but few historical data, and we are therefore obliged to study Lopar shamanism in foreign sources, especially Scandinavian; still there are a few shamanist survivals among our Lopars. Johann Scheffer,

¹ Lepekhin, iv, 262.

² Maksimov, 501-505.

³ *Ibid.*

a German *savant* of the seventeenth century, published, in 1764, a Latin work on Lapland and its inhabitants. This book contains rich material collected from the writings of Scandinavian travellers, referring especially to the ethnography of the Swedish Lopars. The chief authority for the Norwegian Lopars is the Danish jurist Henrik Jessen, whose book on the heathen religion of the Norwegian Finns and Laplanders was printed in 1767. Klemm, in his "Culturgeschichte," has reproduced all the essential part of Jessen's work.

Kamlanie of the Lopar noids.—The Lopar shamans, *noaids* or *noids*, were so famous that Lapland was looked upon in olden times as the school of witchcraft. The neighbouring people sent their children to the Laplanders to learn magic.¹ Nowadays, *noids* only exist among the Russian Lopars; they are feeble descendants of the former magicians, mere wizards who have, however, preserved the ancient shamans' name.²

The Lapland wonder-worker prepared himself for *kamlanie* by fasting one day; in cases of exceptional importance several shamans assembled in one tent. Sometimes the ceremony was repeated, especially when they wished to know to what deity sacrifice must be offered. If sacrifice was of no avail, a journey had to be undertaken to the land of shadows (*yabme aimo*). For such an expedition a famous *noid* was selected, possessed of the best magic instruments. In the holy place the shaman asked a *yabmeke*, or dead kinsman, to protect the reindeer. But the chief object of the journey was to conjure the gods, dwelling in *yabme aimo*, that they should postpone their summons, to the kingdom of shades, of a sick man lying on his death-bed, and allow him to remain some time longer among the living. When the journey was about to begin, the *noid* assembled as many men and women as possible, and taking his tambourine, began to beat it with all his might, meanwhile singing, accompanied by all who were present. The noise, and his wild movements, put the wizard into a delirium. Resting the tambourine on his knees, he leaped with extraordinary agility and rapidity, making the strangest motions, till he fell down insensible, like a dying man. He lay thus for an hour, till another *noid*, who had made the same journey, roused him. The *noids* unanimously affirmed that the snake *Saiva Guelle*, frightened by their cries, appeared before them, and carried them on its back to *yabme-aimo*. In case the spirits would not fulfil the demands of the shaman, he entered into a dangerous struggle with them.³ Regnard, a French traveller of the seventeenth century, thus describes a *noid's kamlanie*: "The magician's eyes rolled, his face changed in colour, his beard became disordered. He beat his tambourine with such force that it seemed ready to break. Finally he fell rigid as a stick. All the Lopars present took great

¹ Schefferus: "Lapponia," 120–121.

² N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh u drevnikh i sovremennykh Loparei." Etnogr. Obozr., kn. i, 63.

³ Klemm: "Culturgeschichte," iii, 85, 76–77.

care that nobody approached the diviner when he was in this condition; even flies were driven away and not allowed to settle on him . . . The Lopar lay like a corpse for a quarter of an hour, and then he gradually came to himself, and began to look at us with a wandering gaze. After looking at us all, he turned to me, and said that his spirit could not obey him, because I was a stronger magician than he, and my spirit was stronger than his." Another traveller, the Italian Acerbi, who visited Lapland at the end of the eighteenth century, quotes a fragment of a song sung by the shaman and his male and female assistants. The shamanist songs had their words strictly defined, and to forget one word would lead to the death of the shaman. "Cursed wolf, go hence, and stay no longer in these woods! Get thee to the uttermost parts of the earth; if thou wilt not depart may the huntsman slay thee!" This song had the power of protecting a flock from wolves.¹

The Lopar tambourine.—The tambourine, which was once among the chief instruments of the Lapland wizards, is now a great curiosity. According to Samuel Ren, the tambourine was generally used for four purposes: by its help they found out what was going on in distant lands, it indicated the successful or unsuccessful issue of an enterprise or a human illness; it was also used to heal diseases; it taught the Lopars what sacrifices to offer and what kind of animal ought to be immolated to the gods.² The tambourine (*Kannus, Kvobdas*) was made of spruce, fir or birch wood. The tree from which the wood was taken must grow in a certain place; this showed that it was agreeable to the sun and the heavenly deities. There were two kinds of tambourine: one was a wooden hoop strengthened with two crossed beams and covered with skin, the other was an oval flat box hewn out of a piece of a tree trunk, and also covered with leather. Klemm gives the external description of several tambourines in his collection. The most important feature of the Lopar tambourine is the drawing executed on it with red paint prepared from alder bark. The pictures vary according to the character of the owner of the instrument. Generally they represent celestial deities, spirits, the sun, the stars, various animals, e.g., bears, wolves, otters, foxes, also lakes, forests, and men. On the tambourine sketched by Jessen, forty-five subjects were represented. On an instrument preserved in the Royal Museum at Dresden, one sees, in the upper division, the chief celestial deity Radien Attie and his only son Radien Kidde; to the left of these are the three persons of the Christian trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in the middle is Baive, the sun, a ring girt with rays, in the midst of which is an indistinct human figure. The sun is connected by a stroke with a line which cuts off a special region, possibly Lapland. In this region is delineated a figure whose head is protected by two, apparently shamanist, instruments, as well as two fishes representing animal guardians; the feet stand

¹ N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 55-56.

² Schefferus: "Lapponia," 133.

on bars leading from the terrestrial to the upper world; the left foot is on a road, showing the shaman how he may penetrate thither; there are two fishes and two birds by the man, and on his left stands a wolf representing the dog of the evil spirit Rutu. The right foot of the *noid* points to a road leading to the three good spirits placed near Radien Attsie. This man united with Baive, the good spirits, and Rutu, in all probability was a symbol of a powerful *noid*, having intercourse with the spirit world. Besides the chief figures, many animals are to be seen on the widest part—foxes, a pig, a goat, an arrow aimed at a young seal, eight circles representing stars, perhaps the constellation of the little bear, and a large double circle for the moon.¹

With each tambourine there is an indicator and a hammer. The indicator consists of a large iron ring on which smaller rings hang. There are indicators made of copper, some of bone, and some plain metal rings. The hammer is made of reindeer horn. The Lopars treat their tambourines with the greatest respect, and wrap them up, with the indicator and hammer, in fur. No woman dares to touch a tambourine.²

How men become noids.—The profession of *noid* was not open to all. When a young Laplander had an exceptional liking for this occupation, it meant that the *tonto*, or spirit, had called him to be a shaman. The *tonto* appeared to its worshippers in lonely walks, after sleep or excessive drinking. The underground spirit instructed the adept, and when he was sufficiently skilled in the magic art the ceremony of consecration took place.³ Ionn Tornei says, "If the devil find any man fit to serve him, he afflicts him with disease from childhood, so that there appear unto him divers shapes and visions; and he learns what pertains to his art."⁴

At the present day also, the power of necromancing among the Russian Lopars may come by nature, but it is generally inherited. When a wizard dies, he "blesses with witchcraft," as the Lopars say, his son or daughter.

In the parish of Notozersk there lives a Lopar woman named Afimya Egorovna, who was born in the parish of Pazryelsk; to her is attributed the power of practising witchcraft. When her father lay dying he asked her, "With what shall I bless thee, Afimyushka?" She was silent. Something fell down outside in the street; the man started, began to rave and shamanize. When he came to himself she said, "What frightened thee? It was only something that fell in the street." He replied, "With this alone do I bless thee—there is nothing else with which I can." Henceforth she began to be excitable, and knows a little about witchcraft.⁵

Concerning the way in which the devils themselves select shamans, there is a tale current at Lake Paias. Not very long ago there lived on the shore of the lake a Lopar and his wife. They had three sons. The father and mother went out fishing on the

¹ Klemm, iii, 90-95.

² Klemm, iii, 98-99.

³ Klemm, iii, 83.

⁴ Schefferus: "Laponia," 122.

⁵ N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 63-64.

lake and left the children alone. In the absence of their parents, three handsome youths used to come every day to the children. When it was time for the parents to return, the youths went away, saying, "When you grow up we shall all live together as inseparable comrades. But you must not tell your father and mother that we come to you, and what we say to you." Once the youngest son, for some reason or other, told his parents what took place in their absence. The parents were alarmed lest somebody should steal their children, and therefore moved to the other side of the lake. The youths never appeared again. But soon afterwards the three boys died. Then the parents guessed that under the form of the three youths there had come devils, left after the death of some *noid*, and had wished to serve the boys, but since the parents had moved away the spirits had left them.¹ These two stories are characteristic of the various ways in which shamans acquire their magic power. Some wizards gain it by belonging to a certain family, others by the choice of the spirits. But in every case, in older times, it was necessary that the *noid* should be fully developed physically and mentally, and a man more than fifty years of age, or who had lost his teeth, could not be a wizard and servant of the spirits.²

One of the most sacred rites of the heathen Lopars was christening, *lyaugo*, i.e., bathing, as they called it. It was then that the Lopor child received his name. Women performed the ceremony. Every time the child fell ill, the christening was repeated and the name was changed. There were adult Lopars who had been christened three or four times. Every *noid* was solemnly subjected to this rite before he assumed his rank. The christening of the *noids* was called *odde-nabma-tsiadtset*. The consecration of shamans was not accompanied by any solemn ceremony; it was limited to an assembly of old *noids*. One of them sat down on the ground at the door of the tent, and interlaced his legs with the legs of the candidate. The former sang and beat his tambourine, and the spirits penetrated into the tent, through the legs of the *noids*, only visible to the newly consecrated shaman. When the other *noids* were convinced of the presence of the spirits, the newly consecrated man was declared to be a shaman, and with this the ceremony ended.³

Divination.—We have already shown how the Lapland shamans healed the sick, but their duties were not confined to this. A very important part of their business was divination of every kind, and the sending of misfortunes to men. For divination they took a tambourine, put on it the ring-indicator, called *arpa*, and, by the blows of the hammer on the tambourine, set the ring in motion. It passed from one finger to another, and thus indicated what it was desired to know.⁴

During the ceremony the wizard knelt. If it was necessary to find out whether an enterprise, e.g., a hunting expedition, would be

¹ N. Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 72-73.

² Klemm, iii, 85.

³ Klemm, iii, 77-78, 84.

⁴ Schefferus, 130-131.

successful, several rings were placed on the tambourine; if the ring followed the course of the sun it was a good omen, if it went to the left it was unfavourable. They also found out in this way what animals were to be killed, and the easiest road to a place.¹

When choosing animals for sacrifice, the shaman beat the tambourine, and all the men and women present sang, "What sayest thou, great holy god? Wilt thou take the sacrifice I have appointed for thee?" In the song they mentioned the hill on which they wished to offer the sacrifice. If the deity desired the sacrifice, the ring stopped motionless where he was delineated, if not, they addressed another, until the ring indicated a god who wanted a sacrifice.²

Sacred animals of the noids.—All the cures, and all the mysterious rites of the *noids* were performed with the aid of three kinds of animals, *Saivo*, dwelling in the realm of shadows. These were: the bird *saivo-lodde*, the fish or snake *saivo-guelle* or *guarms*, and the reindeer *saivo-sarva*. The appellation common to them all was *vuoiqe*. The birds were of different sizes—swallows, sparrows, partridges, eagles, swans, &c. They were of every possible colour: some were black and some white, some black on the back, white underneath, others were reddish, tawny, green and variegated. Among these birds, the most remarkable were called *vuornis lodde*; these were especially harmful to mankind. On their wonderful birds the *noids* were conveyed from place to place with great rapidity. The fishes and snakes were also of various sizes; the snakes were symbols of the power and art of the shamans their possessors. The snakes were often 9 feet long; they were used for doing harm to people, and for journeys in the heavenly regions. The reindeer was sent by the shaman to fight, on behalf of a sick man, with the reindeer belonging to the wizard who had sent the illness. The stronger the reindeer was, the stronger was its master the *noid*.

The sending of diseases.—The Laplanders portrayed in a vivid manner the method in which the mischief-making birds produced trouble among men and beasts. They flew to the *noid*, sat down by his side and shook out of their feathers a multitude of poisonous insects, like lice, called magic flies, *gan*. If these flies fell on men or beasts they brought sickness and other misfortunes. The *noids* carefully gathered up these insects, but never touched them with bare hands, and kept them in boxes, using them to do injury. It sometimes happened that the *gans* crawled out of the boxes; in this case the *noids* borrowed from one another these poisonous insects, and repaid the loan when the birds came back again. But the Lapland wizards did not often oblige one another in this way. Another engine was a magic mace. This was made in the form of an axe, and imbued with a powerful poison. The shaman had only to touch with it a man or beast to make them ill, and a disease thus caused could only be cured by the *noid* who caused it.³

¹ Klemm, iii, 99.

² Schefferus, 109-110.

³ Klemm, iii, 74-75, 84, 101.

Classification of the noids, and belief in their power.—There was no division into exclusively good and bad shamans among the Lopars. Both men and women were allowed to enter the profession. But all *noids* were not equally respected, and their power varied. A clever shaman could by the help of his magic do easily what an inexperienced novice performed with difficulty. The spirits sent by the former produced more serious diseases, and he made larger profits by exercising his healing power.¹ Modern *noids* also are of different value. Whilst some Lopars are only “slightly wizards,” others are famous over a large extent of country, and their services are asked for in distant parishes, for healing or divination.²

The profound belief of the Lopars in the miraculous power of their wizards is illustrated by various traditions, quoted by Mr. Kharuzin in his book on “The Noids among the ancient and modern Lopars.” Opposite a fishing bank lie the Ainov Islands, famous for their splendid cloudberries (*moroshka*). The Lopars of Pazryetsk tell a story about the origin of these islands, to the effect that there lived once, in the days before Christianity was introduced, in the parish of Pechengsk, three giant brothers who were *noids*. They had but few reindeer, and they told their mother they would go to Norway, cut off a piece of land, and bring it away with reindeer and other wealth upon it. A long time after they had left home, their mother in a dream saw them returning. She ran out of the hut, and, hearing a noise, cried, “See! my children are coming, they bring goods, oxen, young reindeer; they spoke truth.” But strict silence is indispensable while the *noids* are engaged in sorcery; the violation of this rule was punished by the spirits: the woman, for crying out, was turned into stone, the whole parish turned into stone; the *noids* and the reindeer were drowned in trying to swim ashore, and the piece of stolen ground formed two islands.³

Story about Riz.—The *noids* are feared by the Lopars even after death. “There once lived in Notazar a *noid* named Riz. He did much good and much ill to men. At last he grew old and fell sick. All thought he would recover, but it was not so. Soon he died, yet men came to fear him more than when he was alive. A coffin they made, and laid him therein, but no man was found to bear him to the grave, for he, being a wizard, might arise by the way and devour the other. His sons, even, dared not carry him to burial. At last, one of his own kind, a *noid* to wit, agreed for a reward to take away the body. He drove away with him in the evening, so that the funeral might happen next day. At first the reindeer went very well, but suddenly, at midnight, they took fright. The driver looked in front and to the sides, but nobody could he see or hear. Then he looked back, and saw the corpse sitting behind him. Fear fell upon him, but, being himself a wizard, he cried out, ‘Since thou art dead, lie down!’ The corpse lay down as it was bidden. Some time after, the reindeer again took fright. He looked behind him and saw the *yammii* (corpse) sitting up again.

¹ Klemm, iii, 85.

² Kharuzin: “O Noidakh,” 163.

³ Kharuzin, 66.

He leaped out of the *kerezhi* (sledge), took from his girdle a knife, and said, 'Lie down or I shall cut thy throat.' At sight of the knife the dead man's teeth became iron, and the *opas* (driver) was sorry he had shown the knife. He should have shown a stick or log, and then the teeth would have become wooden. Yet the corpse once again lay down. The driver went on, but he knew now that if the dead man rose a third time he would be eaten, so he drove to a fir tree, jumped off the sledge, tied up the reindeer, and then climbed the tree as fast as he could. At last he reached the top, but just then the dead *noid* had risen and come out of the sledge. The corpse gnashed his glittering iron teeth, but his hands remained crossed on his breast; he came to the fir tree, walked round it several times and began to gnaw it. First he gnawed the branches, and this did not take long. Then he gnawed the trunk. He gnawed like a glutton, and large chips flew away from his sharp teeth. At last the fir tree began to shake. The driver saw that he was in a sad plight, and began to break off branches and throw them down. The corpse, seeing this, thought the tree was falling, and ceased to gnaw. Thus the driver several times interrupted the corpse's work; this he did knowing that if he could but prevent the fir from falling before dawn he would be safe, for at dawn the corpse would lie down and die. The corpse, however, guessed the trick at last, and went on gnawing without paying any heed to the falling branches. Then the driver began to crow like a cock, so that the dead man would take fright, thinking the morning was come. He crowed several times, but the corpse only looked towards the east, and, seeing no sign of dawn, went on gnawing. Seeing that his efforts were vain, the driver was afraid. He decided to go down quietly, so that the corpse might think he was yielding of his own free will. The corpse ceased to gnaw, and waited. The man crawled slowly down. At last the dawn appeared, and the driver cried out, 'Day dawns; get into thy coffin!' The dead *noid* saw the dawn, was terrified, went back to the sledge, and lay down in his coffin. The driver came down from the fir tree, shut up the coffin, harnessed the reindeer, and drove to the burial place. On his arrival he dug a grave, and let the coffin down into it sideways, so that the corpse should not rise; he knew that if the *noid* were buried on his back or face he would walk by night. He filled up the grave and hurried home. When he reached the village he told all that had happened, and the people feared greatly. For six or seven years few dared to pass the grave, and they that did, heard as it were the voice of one weeping and howling.¹

Votyak shamans. The tuno.—Among the other tribes of European Russia we only find survivals of shamanism, and information about former times is scanty. Among the Votyaks, there is a complex spiritual hierarchy which includes the following: *tuno* or *usto tuno*, wise, knowing wizard, *pellyaskis*, and *vedin murt* or *ubir*.² The *tuno*,

¹ Kharuzin: "O Noidakh," 73-75.

² Buch: "Die Wotyaken," 126-127.

or fortune teller, plays a leading part in Votyak society. He heals diseases, finds things that are lost, gives advice about changes of residence, and other perplexing circumstances of life. Through him the gods communicate their dissatisfaction with individuals or whole villages. The *tuno* decides what sacrifice will appease the gods, and selects the priests agreeable to particular deities. The fortune-teller indicates the disrespectful behaviour which leads ancestors to take vengeance on their descendants; he alone knows how to protect men from this vengeance. He can foretell the future, and experienced *tunos* can even struggle with the gods. Thus, in a certain village a *tuno* fought with Keremet, one of the most terrible of the gods. First of all the *tuno* was victorious, and made the god withdraw his demand for sacrifice, but afterwards they made peace; the Votyak sorcerer acknowledged Keremet's power, and agreed that the villagers should offer sacrifice, but the value of the latter was reduced.

The *tunos* find out the will of the gods directly from the latter by visiting their sanctuary, or falling into an ecstatic trance.¹ Mr. Bogaevskii describes the *kamlanie* of a *tuno* on the appointment of new priests (sacrificers). The *tuno* must live a long way from the village in question, and thus be an unprejudiced person entirely unconnected with the village needing priests. Immediately on his arrival, the *tuno* is taken into the bath, and the people assemble in the room where the ceremony is to take place. When all is ready, a musician appears, and begins to play on the *gusli* (psaltery). There is a special sacred melody for this rite, and the *gusli* is the only musical instrument allowed. On the table, which is covered with a white cloth, there are three loaves and bottles of *kumys* brought for the ceremony by every family. After the bath, the *tuno* is dressed in white raiment. As he enters the room, a white cloth is put on his head, a silver coin is dropped in a wooden cup full of *kumys*, and then the *tuno* begins his work. Former priests surround him, and gird him with a white cloth. After some conjuring, the *tuno* stands up and, to the sound of the *gusli*, begins to dance, holding in his hands a sword, and a riding whip the handle of which must be of *tubylga*, i.e., meadow-sweet, for the Votyaks believe that unclean spirits are afraid of this plant. Kirillo, a Votyak peasant of the village of Kurchum, told Mr. Bogaevskii that the dance takes place round a sword which is stuck in the ground in the middle of the hut. During the dance, the *tuno* becomes delirious, and cries out the names of the future priests. If the names mentioned are not correct, i.e., if there are no such people in the village, the dance is renewed.² The delirium becomes so violent that several strong men have to hold the *tuno* while he is inspired. The words chanted by the wizard are an invitation to the deity to come down to him and

¹ Bogaevskii: "Ocherki religioznykh vozzrenii Votyakov." Etnogr. Obozr., iv, 123-124.

² Bogaevskii: "Ocherk byta sarapulskikh Votyakov." Sbornik materialov po etnogr. izd. pri Dashkovskom Etnogr. Muzeje., V. iii, 28-29.

speak through his lips : " Come down and be gracious to us, Invu ! We, Votyaks, assembled together pray to thee."¹

How the rank of tuno is attained.—The *tuno's* art is handed on from father to son, and it is only specially gifted persons who can have intercourse with the gods without this inherited qualification. There are Votyak traditions showing how a wizard gains his supernatural knowledge. The spirit who instructs generally appears at night, in the form of a grey-haired old man in a long robe, and demands strict secrecy, under pain of various diseases. The science consists in the repetition of words from a certain book. In the story there are very ancient features mingled with others which are quite modern. Kylchin Inmar himself, the supreme god, instructs some *tunos*. Inmar appears to the favoured person at night, in company with a wizard who has already been enlightened, leads out the pupil, to the sound of the *gusli*, either into the fields, or to a deep ravine, or to rivers of enormous breadth over which strings are stretched. In the field, the pupil of the mysteries sees seventy-seven firs, the needle-shaped leaves of which are being counted by many wizards. He that can count them all in an hour is allowed by Inmar to cast spells and ruin men. At the ravine, which is seventy-seven *sazhens* (*sazhen* = 7 feet) broad, the god gives to those who can fill the ravine with water from their mouths in one year power to do harm. To test his abilities, the future *tuno* is made to dance on tight strings several times ; he that does not fall once will be the cleverest.² In these Votyak tales it is probable that reminiscences have been preserved of those visions which surrounded the shamanist adept during his solitary meditations, and his secret interviews with the *tuno* who instructed him in the magic art.

Position of the shaman.—At first sight it is difficult to reconcile two statements by different ethnographers regarding the degree of respect shown by the Votyaks to their *tunos*. Buch says that the *tuno* is generally some drunken rascal, or a poor, despised peasant, and therefore is not respected.³ Mr. Bekhterev, quoted in Mr. Bogaevskii's article, affirms that, " to transgress the orders of the *tuno* is to transgress the sacred law, and the neglect of his instructions may bring the greatest misfortune and misery."⁴ But there is no contradiction in these two statements ; it is only necessary to remember that the Votyak wizards are a decaying institution of that ancient heathenism which is breaking down under Russian influence. Besides this, it is necessary to distinguish the relations between the Votyaks and their wizards in everyday life from those which exist during the *kamlanie*, when all present believe that the deity himself speaks through them, and reveals commands which cannot be neglected. At the present time, it is only a man who can be chief shaman. The power of the *tunos* is

¹ Bogaevskii : " Ocherki religioznykh predstavlenii Votyakov," 124.

² Bogaevskii : " Ocherki religioznykh predstavlenii Votyakov," 126-127.

³ Buch, 126.

⁴ Bogaevskii : " Religioznyye predstavleniya," 124.

not identical, it depends on their abilities, and the power of the god they serve.¹

Pellyaskis and vedin.—The shamanist functions among the Votyaks, as among some other peoples, are distributed. Besides the chief wizard, or *tuno*, there are inferior wizards called *pellyaskis* and *vedin*. Not only a man, but a woman, young or old, may be a *pellyaskis*; the *pellyaskis* heals diseases, finds lost property, but has not direct intercourse with the gods, and cannot do all that the *tuno* does. In pronouncing his magic utterances the wizard blows, and from this the name is derived. The *vedin* is exclusively malicious and harmful; he receives his power from evil spirits, sends diseases, and can turn human beings into animals. This black shaman can metamorphose himself, flies in the air, and even attacks the sun, the god of health, who is at enmity with the spirits of sickness, he darkens the sun, and produces eclipses; but his triumph is short-lived; the sun always emerges victorious from the struggle.²

To acquire and maintain influence over their fellow-countrymen, the Votyak *tunos* employ various methods; their forms of divination are especially interesting. A *tuno* named Grigorii told Mr. Bogaevskii that in order to discover the cause of a disease he usually looked at silver; if the silver was tarnished, the illness was due to the evil eye; if a spell had been cast over the patient, two roads were visible on the silver. F. Miller mentions two methods of divination: the wizard takes forty-one beans, and by moving them about on a table finds out the place, day, hour, and beast for sacrifice to an offended deity. Sometimes the *tunos* place on the hand a little snuff, or pour wine on to it, mix it up with a shovel or a knife, look into it for some time, and then give their responses.³

Votyak charms.—Mr. Bogaevskii copied down from a *tuno* several charms. We quote one against the evil eye (*urok*), and another against the wilful sending of illness:—

1. "Blue eyes, green eyes, black eyes, have cast the spell of the evil eye. *Urok* (evil eye)! . . . If thou canst cause new leaves to grow on the tree that has fallen to the ground and rotted, then cast thy spell! There are seventy-seven birds; kiss all the children of all these birds, and then cast thy spell. There are seventy-seven ants' nests; when thou hast kissed the children of all the ants, then cast thy spell. In heaven plays Kylchin-Inmar; he plays with a golden ball in his hands; if thou canst throw this ball out of the hands of Kylchin-Inmar, then cast thy spell!" (Copied down from the Yushinsk *tuno*, Grigorii.)

2. "If thou canst twine together seventy-seven mountain ashes growing through an ant's nest, then only canst thou eat and drink this man. Until thou unitest seventy-seven trees killed by lightning, I shall not let thee eat and drink me. I shall not give myself to be eaten up by thee till thou pourest seventy-seven

¹ Bogaevskii, *ibid.*, 125, 127.

² Buch, 127.

³ Bogaevskii: "Religioznyya predstavleniya Votyakov," 125.

baths into one. Venture not to touch me till thou turnest seventy-seven millstones into one. Venture not to eat and drink me till thou causest seventy-seven stripped lime trees to grow with new bark and branches. I shall not yield to thee till thou makest a thousand big stones into one pebble. I shall not yield till thou makest seventy-seven cross-roads into one. I shall not yield to thee till thou causest all the rivers in the world to run back to their sources. There are seventy-seven hidden gold rings; till thou findest all these rings I will not yield . . . When thou hast kissed thine ears and the back of thy head seventy-seven times, then thou mayest eat and drink me up. I shall not yield to thee until thou canst turn the dust flying in the air into an endless gold chain. None of these things hast thou done, therefore touch not this man." (From a *tyno* of Vaminsk.)

Shamanist survivals among the Cheremises and Chuvashes.—The remains of shamanism among the Cheremises and Chuvashes have much in common. The Cheremisian wizards foretell the future, heal diseases, cast spells, and decide what sacrifice should be offered to any god.¹ Their methods vary; they cast beans, or look into water poured out in a vessel²; they pour water on the back of the victim, and if it trembles it is fit for the god.³ Phthisis and death are sent by means of a powder made of the hair of men and beasts.⁴ Some spells are handed down as secrets from father to son; if they are discovered they lose their power. One of the spells quoted by Father Mikhail Krovovskii preserved some traces of a shamanist *kamlanie*. The wizard, taking a glass of wine, turns with it to the sun, whispers some unintelligible words, at the same time blowing and spitting on the glass, and to the sides. Occasionally he stretches himself, as if he were sleepy, or mixes his ingredients with a knife, which he then throws behind him. After all these ceremonies the wizard gives the patient medicine.⁵ The Cheremis wizards produced the impression that they were the most cunning and intelligent of their race.⁶ Among the lowland Cheremises they bear the Tatar name *kart*, i.e., old man, among the highlanders they are called *muzhan*, and, like the Siberian shamans, don a special dress during the performance of their rites. Their dress consists of a long white blouse without folds, with a red piece of fustian let in to the breast, and a black piece on the back. The Cheremisian wizards wear on their heads a tall hat of birch bark.⁷

Among the Chuvashes, wizards are called *iemzya*. Both men and women become *iemzyas*.⁸ They are at once wizards, priests, and leeches; they heal with herbs, and tell fortunes by means of

¹ Nurminskii: "Ocherk religioznykh vyerovanii Cheremis." Pravos. Sobyes., 1862g, kn. xii, 273-274.

² Rychkov: "Zhurnal ili dnevnyya zapiski," 86.

³ Smirnov: "Cheremisy," 155.

⁴ Nurminskii, 274.

⁵ Krovovskii: "Gornye Cheremisy." Zh. M. Vn. D., 1853g., ch. 41, 233-324.

⁶ Rychkov, 85.

⁷ Zolotnitskii: "Kornevoi Chuvashskoruskii slovar," 165.

⁸ Zolotnitskii, 165.

coals, salt, and bread.¹ Mr. Magnitskii gives a long list of *iemzyas*, with a description of their occupations. Thus, in the village of Maslovo, there lives Aunt Tatyana, the chief *virusse*, i.e., enchantress, who blows while uttering her charms. She mends broken legs and arms, reclaims young men from drunkenness, and knows how to stimulate and chill love. Another, Aunt Vasilisa, possesses the art of casting spells on the stomach. Two others, Aunt Ustinya and Natalya Maksimovna have the power, one, of knowing a person's destiny by the eyes, the other of uttering a charm against the *domovoi* (house spirit, brownie), and against paralysis. In the village of Semenchin is a blind man named Arkhip Andreev; he defines the names of spirits, appoints the sacrifices, and knows all the ritual for sacrifices. In the village of Kovaly, in the district of Tsivil, dwells Stepan Egorov, who foresees all that will happen, both good and ill. All these *iemzyas* inherit their profession, but there are some who become wizards even against their will, without this hereditary qualification. It is sufficient for a Chuvash to make a lucky guess as to the issue of some event, and people flock to him for advice from all parts, frequently Russians as well as Chuvashes. The ability to tell fortunes is accompanied by tempting advantages; it brings honour, and awakens fear. We cannot wonder that many who involuntarily become *iemzyas* at first, are afterwards absorbed in the profession.²

Sboev says that the Chuvashes show great honour to their wizards, and have a boundless belief in their supernatural power; they are invited to weddings, because people fear that an offended *iemzya* might destroy the bride or bridegroom.³ According to Mrs. Fuks, the Chuvash wizards have no special dress for *chuklyanie*, i.e., the ceremony of sorcery.⁴ They drive out diseases, sent by the malevolent, in the name of a certain old woman. The Chuvashes fear the *iemzyas* even after death; thus, in the district of Cheboksar, in a certain village, in former times, there stood by itself a granary which excited universal dread; nobody would go near it. In reply to the priest, the Chuvashes said that this building had belonged to an old maid, long dead, who was a *iemzya*, and that her things were preserved in the granary; they believed that anybody who touched them would die; even the sight of these objects might make a man blind.⁵

The Mordvins.—Mordva is now almost completely Russified, and does not preserve any noteworthy traces of shamanism, but in a manuscript article of Mr. Minkh, sent to the Ethnographical Section of the Society of Students of Natural History, there are some interesting facts referring to survivals of shamanism which were apparent some little time ago. The article deals chiefly with

¹ Aleksandra Fuks: "Zapiski o Chuvashakh i Cheremisakh Kazanskoi gub.," 98-99.

² Magnitskii: "Materialy k obyasnieniyu staroi chuvashskoi vyery." Kazan, 881, 12-16.

³ Sboev: "Chuvashi," 36.

⁴ Fuks, 98.

⁵ Zolotnitskii, 168-169.

the year 1840, and the information is extracted from the report of Timothei Leontiev, a soldier's son of Mordvin origin, to Jakov, arch-priest of Saratov. Of course we cannot expect to find, even in 1840, an organised paganism, with a definite class of mediators between men and gods, among the Mordvins dwelling in the northern part of the government of Saratov, but there are traces of the existence of such a class at one time. Various shamanist functions fell to the lot of persons who took upon themselves the duties of the earlier wizards, and possessed certain qualities. The worship of the dead occupies a prominent place in the beliefs of the Mordvins. They are convinced that on the feast (*pominka*) in commemoration of a dead man, the latter invites all his dead kinsmen and friends to the banquet. There are people, especially women, who can see the dead guests of the deceased hero of the festival, so, during the *pominka*, some old woman sits on the threshold, and, as long as the entertainment lasts, keeps her eyes fixed on the table. Afterwards, she tells the surviving kinsfolk what dead people she saw at table, what they spoke about, and what they did.

When the Mordvin women hear of the death of anybody who lives in their village, they prepare special dishes, and carry them to the house. On her arrival, the woman places the food on the table, and falls on her face before the corpse. *An old woman especially appointed for the purpose* takes the dish, and addressing the dead, says: "Lo! so-and-so (naming the woman) has brought thee cakes, eggs, beef and so on; eat heartily thyself that thou be not hungry, and regale thy guests; pray to God that all so-and-so has brought may be found among us, that corn may increase and that cattle may thrive."

On the feast of the Intercession of the B.V.M., October 1st (O.S.), or within a few days of it, the Mordvins have a special *molyan*. Not far from the village, they assemble at the sacred oak; on the hillside they lay down cloths, and spread great tables with the food and drink they have brought. *Three or four of the old men don dresses of white cloth*, and one after another, they walk three times round the feast, touching all the viands with their hands and saying, "White feet, Keremed, walking in the woods, Keremed, walking in the fields, Keremed, we worship thee, guard thou us!" The people standing behind, and a multitude of women, do what the ministers command. Pieces of food, cut off by the old men who are officiating, and by other persons, are buried in the earth, some of them are placed in the great hollow of the oak, some on the tree itself, while the old women bow before the oak and scrape copper coins with a knife; the money is thrown into the hollow of the tree. The women also apply to the tree, linen they have brought with them, and this linen is used for the cure of pains and griefs during the next two years, after which time it is made up into costumes for the ministering old men. At the end of the *molyan*, the sacred garments are taken from the old men, and laid aside till next year for the new masters of the feast.

The Kirghizes.—Pallas, in his “Travels in Various Parts of the Russian Empire,” speaks at some length about the wizards among the Kirghizes of the government of Astrakhan. There are five kinds of wizards; some of them, called *falcha*, divine by certain books, and by the celestial luminaries, the others, *yaurunchi*, foretell the future by the shoulder-blade of a sheep. The wizards of the third category are called *baksha*, and are especially credited. When they are applied to for advice, these Kirghiz wizards appoint a sacrifice, consisting of a horse, a sheep, or a goat. After choosing the victim, the *baksha* sings magic hymns, beats a tambourine hung round with rings, and leaps and makes other motions. Half an hour later he kills the animal, and collects its blood in a vessel destined for the purpose; then he takes the skin for himself; the flesh is eaten by the company present; the bones are collected, and the wizard, after painting the bones red and blue, throws them away to the westward. In this direction also he pours away the blood. After the sacrifice, the divination begins again, and the *baksha* gives the response required. There are also two other varieties of diviners: the *kamcha*, who foretells according to the colour of the flame of oil or fat burning in the fire; and the *dzhaadugars*, witches who seek out runaway serfs or prisoners; but the latter do not enjoy any respect among the Kirghizes,¹ and consequently we must regard the *bakshas* as the chief representatives of shamanism among the European Kirghizes.

Universality of shamanist phenomena among the tribes of Russia.—Throughout the vast extent of the Russian Empire, from Behring's Strait to the borders of the Scandinavian Peninsula, among the multitudinous tribes preserving remains of their former heathen beliefs, we find in a greater or less degree shamanist phenomena. Despite the variety of races and the enormous distances that separate them, the phenomena which we class under the general name of shamanism are found repeated with marvellous regularity. In order to throw light on this regularity in a scientific manner, and explain more clearly the performances of the shamans of Siberia and European Russia, we must glance at the analogous institutions existing on that continent which is separated from Asia by Behring's Strait.

Notes on the Aborigines of Australia.

The collection of the following valuable notes on the aborigines of various parts of Australia is due to the zeal and energy of Dr. E. C. Stirling, of Adelaide, South Australia, who sent copies of my anthropological questions to the various writers. Dr. Stirling kindly allows the notes to be published in this Journal, reserving to himself the right to make what use he may think fit of them in a larger and more systematic work which he hopes to publish on the native tribes of Australia. Every student of anthro-

¹ Pallas: “Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs.”